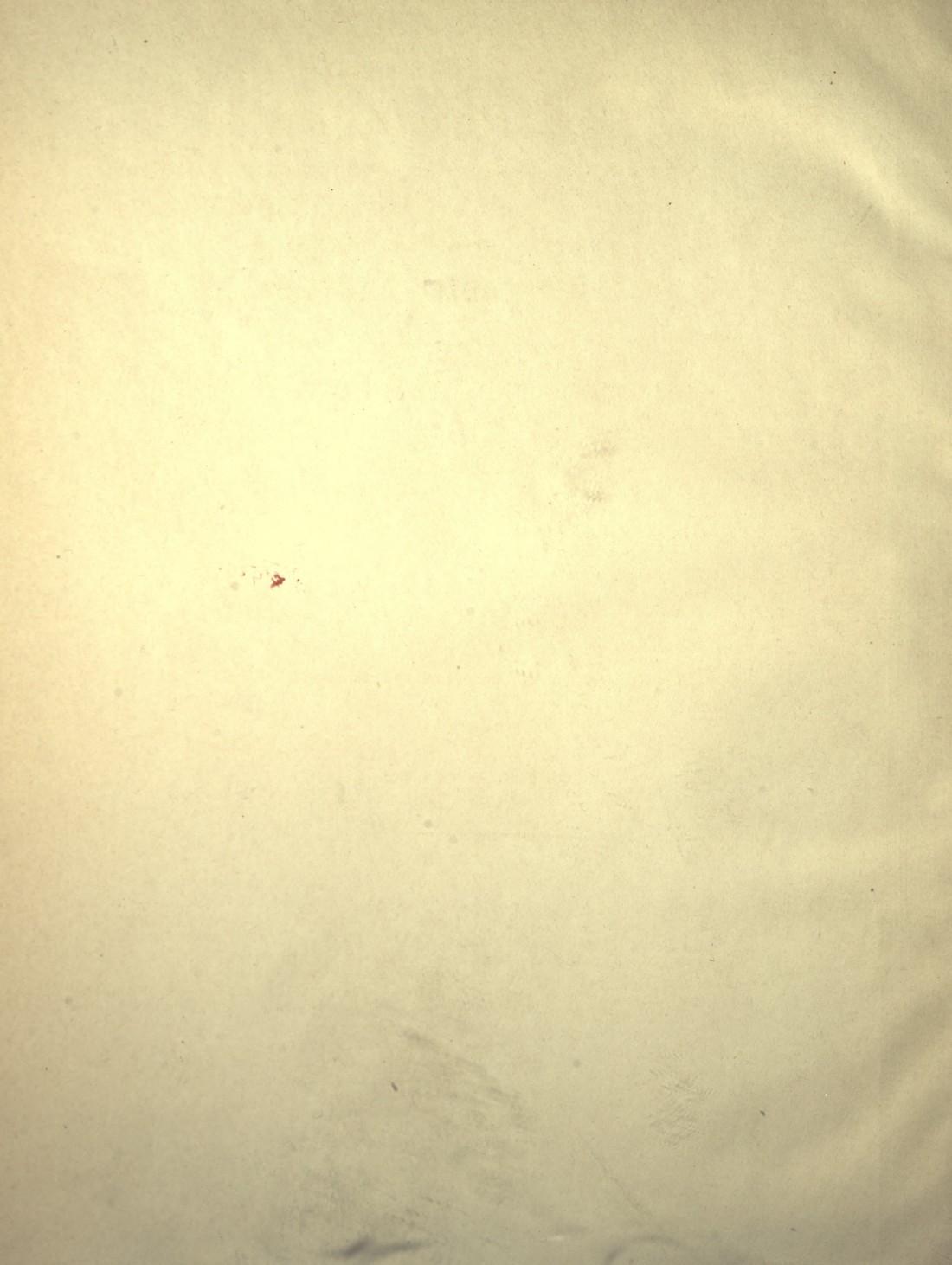


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CONNECTED WITH THE PALATINE COUNTIES OF
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List of Publications—New Series.

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THE
Poems
OF
JOHN BYROM.

EDITED BY
ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WARD,
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VOL. I.—MISCELLANEOUS POEMS.

PART II.

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1894.



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The Poems of John Byrom.

VOL. I. PART II.

DIALOGUES IN THE LANCASHIRE DIALECT.

[Byrom's attempts in the Lancashire, or more precisely speaking, in the South Lancashire, dialect were no doubt suggested by the publication, in 1746, of John Collier's *View of the Lancashire Dialect, by way of a Dialogue between Tummus o' Williams, o' Margit o' Roaf's, an Meary o' Dick's, o' Tummy o' Peggy's; shewing in that Speech, the Adventures and Misfortunes of a Lancashire Clown*. This celebrated production, than which, says Mr. Thomas Heywood, *On the South Lancashire Dialect*, Chetham Miscellanies, vol. iii. (1862) p. 40, "it is impossible to find an earlier or better example" of the vernacular in question, contains a good deal more prose than verse, and both exhibit an ignorance, or defiance, of anything like refinement which cannot have been pleasant to Byrom. He makes no reference to his original, and I am not aware of any direct evidence of the fact that he had read "Tim Bobbin," of whose raciness his own efforts, though in their way they cannot be described as altogether unsuccessful, have little or nothing. Collier, on the other hand, knew of Byrom. In his "skit" entitled *Truth in a Mask, or Shude-Hill Fight: being a Short Manchesterian Chronicle of the Present Times*, 1757, where in a parody of the style of Scripture which Byrom would have deeply resented he satirises the attempt of the trustees of the School Mills to buy up corn in a season of dearth (cf. *Introductory Note to Bone and Skin, an Epigram, ante*, p. 109), he introduces "Clatonijah the priest" (John Clayton, fellow of the Collegiate Church, and author of *Friendly Advice to the Poor*, 1755,

and *A Sequel to the Friendly Advice to the Poor*), and “*Byromah*, the psalmist, whose pen is the pen of a ready writer.” “*Clatonijah*” is made to dictate to “*Byromah* the scribe” an unctuous exhortation to the “men of *Belial*” (the Syndicate) to desert their evil ways and cease from grinding the poor; but the appeal, though frightening those to whom it is addressed, remains ineffectual. (See also Dr. Renaud’s edition of the late Canon Raines’ *Fellows of the Collegiate Church of Manchester* (Chetham Society’s Publications, 1891), Part II. pp. 259–60; and cf. as to John Clayton *ib.* 248 *seqq.*, and *Remains*, i. 509 note. See also *A Manchester Fellowship Election, infra.*)

Tim Bobbin is stated altogether to have gone through at least sixty-four editions, and a “centenary” edition of this and the other works of its author, whose statue was recently unveiled at Rochdale in the presence of an eminent Archdeacon, is now announced from the competent hand of Lieut.-Colonel Fishwick. In the third edition was first added a *Glossary of Lancashire Words and Phrases*, to which occasional reference will be made in the notes to the following pieces. Illustrations from the whole range of Lancashire dialect literature, and from the periods of Old English of which it retains the traces, will be found in the admirable *Glossary of the Lancashire Dialect*, compiled for the English Dialect Society by Messrs. John H. Nodal and George Milner (two Parts, 1875 and 1882). See also Mr. Thomas Heywood’s treatise, already cited, likewise in two Parts, of which the second is devoted to *Tim Bobbin*, and accompanied by an *Index to South Lancashire Words*. The late Mr. William Gaskell, whose occasional notes illustrative of Lancashire words and phrases will be remembered by the readers of *Mary Barton*, in 1852 printed two interesting *Lectures on the Lancashire Dialect*. Mr. Gaskell was of opinion that the Lancashire dialect contains a large number of words which can hardly be referred to any but British origin.

The pathetic capabilities of the Lancashire dialect have been less assiduously cultivated than the humorous. Apart from the use made of it by Mrs. Gaskell and a few other prose-writers, there is little to show in the former direction besides some of the poems of the late Edwin Waugh. In the Introductory Essay on the Dialect of Lancashire considered as a vehicle for poetry, prefixed by Mr. George Milner to the edition of Edwin Waugh’s *Poems and Songs*, forming vol. viii. of the new

collected edition of that author's works, an excellent account is given of those elements in the Lancashire dialect which have rendered it, "in the hands of a few, and especially in those of Edwin Waugh, . . . fully adequate for the expression of all the elementary emotions." Mr. Milner's opinion concerning this dialect therefore seems on the whole warranted, that "although anything like subtlety or complexity of ideas is beyond its reach, love, humour, pathos, and a certain shrewd delineation of character are distinctly within the scope of its powers."

I have retained the spelling of the Lancashire portion of these *Dialogues* as given in A and B, except in the case of a few internal inconsistencies. Most of this spelling is no doubt intended to be phonetic, and I have respected the intention. On the other hand, there seemed no reason, in the present year of Grace, for reproducing the modernised prose version benevolently added by the editor of B.]

I.

A LANCASHIRE DIALOGUE, OCCASIONED BY A CLERGYMAN PREACHING WITHOUT NOTES.

[As to the subject of this piece, cf. *To the Rev. Messrs. H—— and H——, on preaching extempore, ante*, pp. 101 seqq.]

James. **W**US yo at Church o' Sunday Morning, John?

John. Ay, *Jeeams*, I wus, and wou'd no' but ha' gone
For ne'er so mich. What, wur no' yo theer then?

James. Nou ; and I ha' no' mist, I know no' when.

John. Whoy, yo had e'en faoo Luck on't.

James. So I hear ;
'At maes me ask ye, whether yo wur theer.

5. *Faoo*. Foul (TIM BOBBIN). Feaw = ugly (NODAL AND MILNER; HEYWOOD).

6. *'At*. That.

They tell'n me that a Pairson coome, and took
His Text bi Hairt, and preacht withaoot a Book.

John. He did, for sartin, and hauf freeten'd mee,
And moor besoide ; but he soon leet us see
He wanted noane. 10

James. Whoy, could he do withaoot ?

John. Yoi, better, Mon, bi hauf, for being baoot.
It gan me sich a Notion : for my Pait,
I think 'at aw true Preaching is by Hairt.
Sich as we han I do not meean to bleeame,
But conno' caw it, fairly, bi that Neeame.
A Book may do at Whooam for Larning seeake,
But in a Pilpit, wheer a Mon shid speeake,
And look at th' Congregation i' their Feeace,
He conno' do't for Pappers in a Keease.
He ta'es fro' them what he mun say, and then
Just looks as if he gan it 'um again.
It is i'th Church ; or one cou'd hairdly tell
But he wur conning summat to himsel.
Monny a good Thing, theer, I ha' hard read oo'er,
But never knew what Preeaching wus befoor.

20

7. *Tell'n.* For this Old-English plural cf. *Contentment*, ll. 16, 19, 31 *ante*, pp. 112-3, ll. 21, 41 ; and *infra*, in the present piece, l. 28, "done" = do; l. 116, "hoirn" = hire; l. 151, "sen" = say; l. 162, "wurn" = were; and in *Dialogue III.*, l. 56, "cawn" = call; l. 62, "tan" = take.

12. *Baoot.* Without. Bate, beawt (TIM BOBBIN). A.S. butan, *Mod. Engl.* but. Cf. Byrom to Mrs. Brearcliffe, January 23rd, 1730 (as to highwaymen) : "This is a terror that poor folks know nothing on ; 'bout's bare, but it's easy'" ["*Cantabit vacuuus*," &c.]; "so I hope

the bearer of this short epistle will be in no danger." (*Remains*, i. 412.)

14. *Aw.* All. The editions spell this *aw* and *au*, pretty indifferently. The form *o'* likewise occurs. I have preferred "Tim Bobbin's" spelling.

21. *Mun.* The old auxiliary of the future tense. Equivalent here to "has to ; must."

22. *Gan it 'um.* Gave it them. Gan = gave, given (NODAL AND MILNER, who cite from Edwin Waugh's *Come Mary, link thi arm* :

"My mother's gan me th' four-post bed
Wi' curtains to't an' o'."

James. And prei ye, *John*, haoo done ye know it naoo?

John. Lukko, this Mon has tou't it me, sumhaoo.

James. A ready Scholar!

John. "Scholar?" Whoy, a Dunce
May see, beloike, what's shown him aw at wunce.

30

James. It ma'es me think,— yo're allivated soa ——
O' one that's gloppen'd, 'at has seen a Shoa.

John. Wou'd yo had seen and hard as weel as I,—
And if I shid say "felt," I shid no' lie ——
Whot it wus moy good Luck to hyear, and see !
Yo'd a bin gloppen'd too, as weel as me.

James. Happen, I meeght ; but con I understand
Onny thing on't, good *John*, at second Hond ?
Yo han this preeaching Seeacret at a Hit :
Con yo remember haoo it wus, a Bit ?

40

John. "Con yo remember?" Comes into mi Hyead
Yoar telling once o' whot yoar Lowyer said
Agen ou'd Hunks, the Justice o'the Peeace
'At wou'd ha' ta'en away yoar Faither's Leease :
Haoo yo discroib'd him,— what a Mon o'th Lows !
What a fine Tungue ! and haoo he geet the Coaze :
Haoo thoosas 'at wur not at the 'Soizes too
Cou'd no' believe t'one hauf o' whot wus true !

31. *Allivated*: elevated.

32. *Gloppen'd*. Frightened (TIM BOB BIN).

Ib. A shoa. A show; perhaps here in the sense of a "spectre" rather than in that of an ordinary "spectacle."

37. *Happen*. Mayhap; probably

46. *Geet*. Got. NODAL AND MILNER cite from Edwin Waugh's *Chimney Corner*:

"When it geet past midnight, I couldn't prop my een oppen no lunger."

James, "Remember?" Ay! and shall do, while I'm whick,
 Haoo bravely he fund aoot a knavish Trick. 50
 He seeav'd my Faither monny a Starling Paoond,
 And bu' for him I had no' bin o'th' Graoond.
 That wus a Mon worth hyearing; if yoar Mon
 Cou'd tauk loike him, I shid be gloppen'd, *John*.
 But, lukko' me, theeas Lowyers are aw tou't
 To speeak their Nomminies, as soon as thou't:
 Haoo done yo think wou'd Judge and Jury look,
 If onny on 'um shid go tak a Book
 Aoot of his Pockett — and so read away?
 They'd'n soon think, he had no' mich to say. 60
 Aoor honest Lowyer had my Faither's Deed;
 But, Mon, he gan it th' Clark o'th' Coort to read,
 And then — he spooak! and if yo had bu' seen,
 Whoy, th' Judge himsel cou'd ne'er keep off his Een;
 The Jury gaupt agen, — and weel they meeght;
 For e'ry Word 'at he had said wus reeght.

John. Weel, *Feeams*; and if a Mon shid be as wairm
 Abaoot his Hev'n, as yo abaoot yoar Fairm,
 Dunno' yo think, he'd be as pleeast to hear
 A Pairson mak his Reeght to houd it clear, 70
 And show the De'el to be as fause a Foe
 As that ou'd Rogue the Justice wus to yo?

James. Nao, *John*, I see what you been droiving at,
 And I'm o' yoar Oppinion as to that.

49. *Whick*. Quick; alive. NODAL "waintly" = quaintly; and *ex converso*, the Scotch "Kennaquhair" = I know not where.

AND MILNER quote from Waugh's *Lancashire Sketches* (1855) a characteristic bit of modern Lancashire: "The trippers looked the brig'iter for their out, and, to use their own phrase, felt 'fain 'at they 'rn wick.'" Cf. *infra*, *Dialogue II.*, l. 79

56. *Nomminies*. "Nominy, a speech" (TIM BOBBIN). Query = a homily (cf. HEYWOOD, p. 40)?

65. *Gaupt*. Gaped.

I shid no' grutch at takking a lung Wauk
To hyear a Clargyman, that cou'd bu' tauk
As that Mon did, cou'd sarch a Thing to th' Booan,
And in good yarnest mak the Coaze his ooan.
I seedom miss a *Sunday* hyearing thoas
'At preeachen weel enugh, as preeaching gooas ; 80
But I ha' thou't, sometimes, haoover good,
A Sarmon meeght be better, if it wou'd ;
'At, if it cou'd no' make Folks e'en to weep,
It sartinly mit keep 'um aw fro' Sleep.
Yet I ha' seen 'um nodding, Toimes enoo,
Not ooanly Childer, but *Church-Wairdens* too.
Cou'd 'yoar foine Preeacher —— Morning wus too soon ——
Ha' kept Folks wakken, *John*, i'th' Afternoon ?

John. I wish he wou'd ha' tried ; —— and, I dare say,
That Morning meeght have onswere'd for aw Day. 90
He must ha' ta'en a pratty Dose, I think,
'At could ha' gen that Afternoon a Wink.
Sich looking, and sich list'ning ! One mit read
In e'ry Feeace : "Ay, heer's a Mon indeed !"
Some meeght ha' slept, if he had com'n agen,
Befoor he spooak ; —— I'm shure they could no' then.

James. They wurn, its loike, whaint fond o' summut new.

John. Nea, nea ; that winno' hou'd a Sarmon throo.
Aw they that listen'd when he first begun,
Kept list'ning moor and moor till he had done. 100
Had he gone eend away, I gi' mi Word,
He had me fast bi th' Ears ; I'd not ha' stirr'd.

75. *Grutch.* Grumble. Ariel served Prospero "without or grudge or grumb-
lings." *The Tempest*, I. ii. 249.

92. *Gen.* Get'n = got.

101. *Eend away.* Straight on to the end. NODAL AND MILNER, s.v. *eend-way*, *eend-ways*, compare Spenser's use of "endlong" = all the way.

Naoo, yo mun think 'at he taukt weel, at leeast,
 And passing weel, 'at Eich-body wur pleeast.
 They wou'd no', loikly, give him aw their Vooats
 Ooanly becos'e o' Preeaching withaoot Nooats.

James. Whoy, but according to my Thinking, *John*,
 It gi's a hugeous Vontidge to a Mon
 To preeach withaoot Book, if he con bu' do't,
 And he mun needs be better hard to boot. 110
 Aoor Lowyer had noane ; and I hauf con feel,
 It wus the Reeason whoy he spooak so weel.
 Yet, as yo sen, "that ooanly winno' do ;"
 For th' Mon agen him praited like a Foo.

John. *Jeeams*, its e'en haird upon a Lowyer's Tungue,
 They hoirn it aoot to oather reeight or wrung.
 A diff'rent Keease to that o' Pairsons woide :
 They are,— or shid be,— aw o' the same Soide.
 It makes, mayhap, aoor Lowyers reeadier far
 To plead withaoot Book, til aoor Pairsons are. 120

James. It's loike it duz ; for Folks will larn to speeak
 Sannner bi hauf for Contradickshon seeak ;
 And specially, if when their Tale is tou'd
 I' Truth or Loies, they mun be paid i' Goud.
 Pairsons are paid ; and, if they win, may pay
 Thir Curates, *John*, to preeach for 'um, or pray ;
 And, then, they do not, when they ma'en a Raoot,

108. *Hugeous.*

"I love these ballads hugeously."

—Cartwright, *The Ordinary*, iii. v.

110. *Hard.* Heard.

121. *Sanner.* Sooner.

125. *Win.* Willen = will. Cf. note to l. 7, ante.

125-6. *May pay Thir Curates, JOHN,*
to preeach for 'um, or pray.

This satirical reference to a system closely connected in its origin with the evils of pluralities and non-residence—herited evils which were at their height in our Church in the middle of the eighteenth century—accords with Byrom's lofty conception of the responsibilities of the clerical office.

Tungue it so mich as fling thir Book abaooot.
 Yet Word o' Maooth, if it be reeght, 's no Sin :
 Whoy conno' Pairsons preeach by't, if they win ?

130

John. I know no' ; Custom's druvn to Extreeams :
 This may be one 'at they han getten, *Jeeams*.
 Some feeamous Fellies meeght, at first, begin,
 And aw the rest han follow'd 'um e're sin.
 When a Bell-Weather leeaps but o'er a Stray,
 At that same Pleck aw th' rest mun jump away.

James. Marry, I wish 'at Pairsons, one i' ten,
 Wou'd bu' jump back into th' oud Way agen.
 Some han great Books enoo to fill a Cairt ;
 Straunge 'at they conno' lay a Thing to Hairt,
 Sich as they loiken best, and ha' the Paoor
 To dray it fro' within, for one hauf Haoor !
 Haoor coome this Mon to do't ?

140

John. I conno' tell.
 Do it he did so yeeasy to himself,
 And yet wi' so mich Yarnestness, and Fooarce,
 Of Tungue and Hond and Look, and good Discooarse,
 Aw smooth and clear and, 'ery turn it took,
 Still woinding to't like Weater in a Brook ;
 'At onny Mon o' Larning, takking Aiam,
 Meeght ha' larnt fro' him to ha' done the saieme.

150

James. "Larning!" when Preeachers first coome in, they sen,
 They wurn no' monny on 'um larnèd Men,
 Nor Gentry nooather,—

128. *Fling their Book abaooot.* Fling *Promptorium Parvulorum* (1440). MR. their written sermon at their hearers. GASKELL recalls the A.S. *plæc*, which

135. *A Stray.* A straw. Strey = however, according to NODAL AND MILNER, is found only in the O. Northumbrian version of ST. MATTHEW, vi. 5.

1. 142, "drag" = draw.

136. *Pleck.* Place. So used in the

John. Whoy, and they sen true ;
 But in aoor Days I daoot it woono' do,
 To ha' thooas preeach 'at comn so meeghty short
 O' th' first Beginners, so weel fitted for't.
 Wou'd but aoor Gentlemen o' Larning troy
 To preeach fro' th' Hairt, and lay their Pappers bye :
 We shid no' think warse on 'um for thir Kin,
 Nor loike 'um less, haoover larn'd they bin ; 160
 Aoor Folks i' Church Toime wou'd be moor devaoot,
 And moin'd the Bus'ness 'at they wurn abaooot :
 And thooas good Sarmons 'at mooast o'n 'em ma'en,
 By aw good Folks wou'd be mich better ta'en.
 Witness this Gentlemon, o' Sunday Morn,
 The best 'at I e'er hard sin I wur born !
 But come, I'll say no moor ; yo'st hear him first :
 I wish with au my Hairt he wur the worst.

James. Ay, yo may wish ;——but will he preeach agen ?
 Hooo ar yo shure o' that ? 170

John. Nay, soa they sen ;
 Yo're loike to tak yoar Chaunce, as weel as I.

James. If onny comes, I'll tak it.—*John,* Good bye!

154. *Daoot.* Doubt.

167. *Yo'st.* You shall. NODAL AND MILNER ; who give the following conjugation of *aw'st* (I shall) :

Singular. Plural.

"First Person Aw'st. We'st.
 Second , , Thou'st. Yo'st.

Singular. Plural.

Third Person. He'st. They'st." The verb *must*, traceable in the above, is ordinarily used = "shall" by Lancashire folk at the present day. "Must I have dinner ready?" = "Shall I have dinner ready?"

II.

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN SIR JOHN JOBSON AND HARRY
HOMESPUN; OCCASIONED BY THE MARCH OF THE
HIGHLANDERS INTO LANCASHIRE
IN THE YEAR 1745.

[Of this march, and more especially of the doings of the young Pretender and his Highland Army in Manchester, a singularly interesting account, given in a Journal kept by Byrom's eldest daughter Elizabeth ("Beppy"), is printed in *Remains*, ii. 385. From this straightforward narrative it appears not only that Byrom's family, thoroughly Jacobite in its sympathies, was one of the few that remained in Manchester on the approach of the invaders, but that Byrom himself, doubtless little loth, was "fetched prisoner" to kiss the hand of the Prince. During the stay of the latter in Manchester there was quartered upon Byrom only a single Highlander "who came into the house by himself, and behaving civilly, we entertained him civilly, and he was contented to lie in the stable during their stay." In a "*Shorthand Memorandum*," printed in *Remains*, i. 410, Byrom likewise mentions this "little Highlander," Alexander Macdonald by name, who "came on Saturday morning to roast a piece of flesh by our fire . . . he had three guineas quilted in the flap of his waistcoat, and one he showed me, asking if it was a good one as well as he could, for he had but few English words . . . said he would call upon us at his return from London." (For a general note as to the share of Manchester in the history of the "Forty-Five" see W. E. A. Axon's *Annals of Manchester* (1886), pp. 84-5.)]

No further illustrations are required of Byrom's agreement with "Harry Homespun's" sentiments concerning the Highlanders. From a passage in *Dialogue III., infra* (l. 150) where the same character is again introduced, Harry may be supposed to have been intended as a representative of the Manchester weavers, not as a country-man. In any case, Jacobites like Byrom and his family apart, he can hardly be said to express accurately, so far as Lancashire was concerned, the feelings entertained towards the Highlanders by those classes which had "a stake in the country." (See ll. 27-8).

The consistent "thouing" in this Dialogue of "honest Harry" by his landlord, whom he as consistently addresses in the second person plural, may be worth noticing.]

Sir John. WAS ye not sadly frighten'd, honest *Harry*,
To see those *Highland* Fellows?

Harry. Not I, marry.

Sir J. No? How comes that?

H. Whoy, Sur, I conno' see
What theer wur in 'um that shid freeten me.

Sir J. So many armèd Ruffians as came here,—
Was there not cause enough for all to fear?

H. Aw whoa, Sur *John*? It, happen, mit be so
Wi' sich foine loardly Gentlemen as yo;
But we poor Foke—

Sir J. Why, prithee, poor or rich,
Is it not much the same?

10

H. Nou; not so mich.
We warken hard, as't iz, for meeat and clooas,
And connot eem to be so feert, God knooas.

I Were you not.—B.

1. *Was ye.* At the time a quite common and respectable false concord.

7. *Aw whoa?* All who?

10. *Warken.* As to this and similar plurals, see Note to *Dialogue I.*, l. 7, ante.

12. *Connot eem to be so feert.* Cannot find the time to be so much afraid. NODAL AND MILNER,—who compare from Collier: "I mennaw (may or must not)eem to stay onnylunger,"—explain "to eem:" "to spare time, find an opportunity, be able to compass an object, get into the

way of doing a thing." They note "A. S. *efnan*, to be able to perform," and cognate forms. "To even" is used by Shakspere as a verb in the sense of "to profit by;" cf. *Cymboline*, iii. 4, 182-3:

"We'll even

All that good time will give us."—The sentiment itself, whether commonplace or not, has a profound historical significance, especially noticeable by the student of periods of Civil War.

Sir J. But, *Harry*, to see Fire and Sword advance !
To have such Enemies as *Rome* and *France* !
Should not this move alike both Rich and Poor,
To drive impending Ruin from their Door ?

H. As for the Rich, Sur *John*, I conno' tell ;
But for the Poor, I'll onser for mysel.
If Fire shid come, I ha' nout for it to brun,
Nor wark to find for oather "Swooard" or Gun ; 20
For "France and Rome" my feering is no greater :
They lyen, I think, o'th' tother Side o'th' Weater.

Sir J. You don't consider what may be the End
Of such a strange Indifference, my Friend.
Pray, whether you have more or less to lose,
Would you not guard your Country from its Foes ?

H. "My Country," Sur ? I have, yo' understand,
In aw the Country not one Inch o' Lond.
They that wood'n feight, and ha' Mon's Blood be spilt,
May, if they win ;—but whoy mun I be kilt ? 30

Sir J. Your Country, Friend, is not the Ground alone ;
There is the King that sits upon the Throne ;
The *Protestant Succession* lies at Stake
That bloody-minded *Papists* want to shake.
Now, you have some Religion left, I hope,
And would not tamely give it to the *Pope*.

H. He wou'd no' have it, happen, if I wou'd ;
Th' oud Mon beloike mit think his ooan as gud ;

34 Which.—B.

40 Tak fro' me.—B.

14. *To have such Enemies as ROME and FRANCE.* Although intended by Sir John in dire earnest, this suggests Praed's :

"When there is any fear of Rome,
Or any hope of Spain," &c.

30. *If they win.* If they will. For "win" as a contraction for plural willen = will, cf. *infra*, l. 58, *et al.*; and see Note to *Dialogue I.*, l. 7, *ante*.

And true Religion, Sur, if I have onny,
No Mon i'th' Ward con tak it fro' me, con he ?

40

Sir J. If you but knew, Friend *Harry*, what a Scene
Of Mischiefs happen'd in King *Jame's* Reign :
How, but for *Orange's* immortal Prince,
The *Protestants* had all been kill'd long since ;
If I should tell you——

H. Nay, we aw, Sur *John*,
Known weel enough that yo're a larnid Mon ;
So was my Gronfayther, and ore his Ale
Monny a Toime has toud another Tale ;
And I darr say mi Gronfayther toud true ;
For, lukko me, th' oud Felly wus no Foo,
Nor Rebbil noather,

50

Sir J. And what was't he toud ?

H. Whoy, moor a deeval than my Brainpon con houd.
Its like yo known as haoo, Sur, th' *Oliverians*
Cut off th' King's Hyead ?

Sir J. Yes.

H. And haoo th' Presbyterians
Turnt aoot his Son, and maden a Rebelution ?

Sir J. They did it, Man, to save the Constitution ;
'Twas Churchmen too that brought King *William* in
As well as they——

40. *Ward.* World.

50. *Lukko me.* I am not sure about this phrase, as to which NODAL AND MILNER are silent. The modernised version in B has "look on me (luck on me)." The bracketed suggestion would imply that the phrase is equivalent to "bless me!" "Look on me" would have no special force. TIM BOBBIN'S *Glossary* has : "luck o', look you, see you;" but this would imply that "me" is here redundant.

H. Whoy, be they whoa they win,
One Egg, he sed, wus ne'er moor loike another
Than thoosas two mak o' Foke wurn loike tone tother : 60
They wurn at aw toimes En'mies to th' blood Royal,
And naoo woud'n ha' it that none but hom are loyal :
Hooo con that be, Sur ?

Sir J. Why, I'll tell thee how——

H. Nay, but yo connot.

Sir J. Well, but hear me now,
Our Kings are Stewards——

H. Sur, yo meeans they wurn ;
For Things, yo known, han tan another Turn :
The *Stuarts'* Race is——

Sir J. Poh ! thou takes me wrong.

H. Hooo mun I tak o'reet ?

Sir J. I say, so long
As Kings are our Protectors,——

H. Luk ye theer !

Oud *Oliver* agen——

70

59. *Be they whoa they win.* Be they like the (that) one to the (that) other.
who they will.

60. *Than thoosas two mak o' Foke wurn loike tone tother.* Than those two sorts of like the (that) one to the (that) other.
folk were like to one another. "Mac or mak" = sort, kind, appearance. NODAL
AND MILNER. Cf. *Dialogue III*, l. 55 : "What mak han yo?" = Of what sort
are you? I presume the word to be the same as our modern "make" = fashion (of
a coat). In the words "tone tother" the initial t's are due to the final t of that =
65. *Our Kings are Stewards—Hi Sur,*
ye mean they wurn. The allusion, of course, is to the Stuart—or Stewart—descent from Walter (Son of Alan) High Steward (Dapifer) of Scotland, who received a charter of confirmation of this office from King Malcolm IV. in 1157. Robert II., the *Steward* of the Kingdom, ascended the throne in 1370.

68. *Tak o'reete.* Take you right; "o'" is the *Tim Bobbin* spelling; B has "oo."

Sir J. Nay, prithee, hear,
And keep thy Nonsense in, till I have done,—

H. Weel, Weel ; I'zt hear yoars first then, if I mun.

Sir J. The People, *Harry*, when they all agree—

H. Aw, Sur ?

Sir J. Be quiet !——choose them a Trustee,
And call him King. Now, if he break his Trust,
They have a Right to turn him out, and must,
Unless they would be ruin'd : dost thou think
For one Man's swimming all the rest should sink ?

H. Yo lov'n a King, Sur, waintly ; sink or swim,
No Mon, I foind, is to be draoont but him.
This chozzen King mit, happen, draoon yo furst ;
Then yo mit sink him after, an yo durst.
If Folks may tak whot Kings they han a Moind,
Whot Faut wi' all theese *Scotchmen* con yo foind ?

80

Sir J. Hang 'em all !——Have they not a King already
That keeps his Contract with the People steady ?
Rebels !

H. Whoy, ay, that's reet, for they wur byetten ;
They lost the Feight ; but, haoo, if they had gotten,
Wou'd yo ha' lik't it, Sur, if an Heelonder
Had toud oo,' Sauce for th' Goose wur Sauce for th' Gonder ? 90

74. *A Trustee.* It is hardly necessary to enter into the question of the constitutional theory imperfectly indicated by the whig country gentleman, and the objections to it suggested by Harry Homespun, on the principle of the rights of minorities.

79. *Waintly.* Quaintly, oddly. Cf. note to *Dialogue I.*, l. 49.

80. *Draaont.* Drowned.

87. *Byetten.* Beaten.

88. *Getten.* Got = won (the fight).

Sir F. Thou'rt a sly Tyke ; I'll talk with thee no more.

H. Whoy, if yo pleasen, then, Sur, ween give ore,
Wishing that e'ry Mon may have his Reet,
Feight as feight winn ;--and so, Sur *John*, good Neet!

Sir F. Thou'l look, I find, to thy own Carcass still.

H. Yoi, Sur, as lung as ere I con, I will.

91. *A sly Tyke.* A sly dog. Collier *tk*, a dog ;” and the use of “tike” or oddly thought “tyke” or “tike,” a name “tyke” in this sense is both Elisabethan given to “any out of the way person, and post-Elisabethan. might be derived from *tick*, a vermin on 94. *Feight, as feight winn.* Fight who cows.” NODAL AND MILNER cite “*Icel.* will fight.

III.

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE SAME, ABOUT COMPELLING A PERSON TO TAKE THE OATHS TO THE GOVERNMENT.

[The date of this well-written, if somewhat sentimental, Dialogue is fixed to 1746 or 1747 by the allusion to “Dangerous Corner” in l. 159. After the insurrection of 1745, as after that of 1715–6, the Justices of the Peace in different parts of the country showed great activity in tendering the oath of allegiance and supremacy to persons of suspected loyalty. Dr. Doran relates an instance, in 1717, of the oaths being administered to a congregation of non-jurors in the midst of Divine service by a Justice of the Peace who came in with a posse of constables. In 1746 and 1747 Lancashire was of course full of such suspects.

The oaths of allegiance and supremacy were those which at the beginning of the reign of William and Mary had been substituted for the old oaths. They were to be taken by ecclesiastical persons under

pain of suspension, and, after six months, of deprivation ; while laymen declining them incurred fines, imprisonment, and, ultimately, the penalties of recusancy. To these oaths was added by the Act of 1702 (13 and 14 William III. c. 6) for all employments either in Church or in State the Abjuration Oath proper, by which the Pretender was abjured and William and his successors according to the Act of Settlement were acknowledged as "rightful and lawful" sovereigns. The proposal that this oath should be enforced, instead of everyone to whom it was tendered being left free to take or refuse it, was carried in the Commons by only a single vote. (Stanhope's *History of England*, 1701-1713, ch. i.). A previous attempt had been made, in 1690, by the Whig party to add to the stringency of these oaths by recasting them "in language which no Jacobite could repeat without the consciousness that he was perjuring himself;" but this Abjuration Bill was thrown out in the Commons, and another less rigid one fell through in the Lords. (See MACAULAY, ch. xv.) Boswell, in a note to the *Life of Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, ii. 321, tells a story "that he who devised the oath of abjuration, profligately boasted, that he had framed a test which should damn one half the nation, and starve the other."

In his younger days, when his Jacobitism was both hopeful and (there is reason to believe) inclined to be militant, Byrom had been perplexed on the subject of the Abjuration Oath. He writes from Trinity on May 3rd, 1715 : "The abjuration oath hath not been put to us yet, nor do I know when it will be; nobody of our year scruples it, and indeed in the sense they say they shall take it, I could; one says that he can do it and like the Pretender never the worse; another, that it only means that he won't plot to bring him in, he doesn't trouble his head about him, &c. I take it thus," says Mr. —— : 'It is required of me by the magistrates, of the University, whom I am bound to obey; it is not my business to dispute their power. Why do I take my degree here? For I cannot do that lawfully, if you run up the Vice-Chancellor's power to confer it to these businesses of politics. I must be guided by the authority of other people who know the case better than I do. Do not all your lawyers, divines here, doesn't the Church of which we are members, in her prayers and practices, in effect declare it lawful? I believe it because my governors say it, and that's reason enough till you prove 'em liars. I swear to observe these acts of parliament, and yet, say you,

never read them; and what then? Did we not swear to the Thirty-nine Articles, Doctrine of the Homilies, &c., and have you read all the Homilies, &c., &c., &c.? You know my opinion, that I am not clearly convinced that it is lawful, nor that it is unlawful; sometimes I think one thing, and sometimes another." (*Remains*, i. 31.) Samuel Johnson, whose mind must at one time have been disturbed by similar doubts, solved them more peremptorily, and came to pronounce Fenton's leaving the University without a degree because he could not take the oaths, "the perverseness of integrity." (BOSWELL, *u.s.*) But, though Byrom must have concluded (to use Harry Homespun's phrase) to "let down" the oaths in what was called "a soft sense" on the occasion of his degree, there can be no doubt but that the desire for independence from such fetters largely determined his choice of a profession and the general conduct of his life. On February 14th, 1739, he notes turning over at his friend Hutton's "a *MS.* about conduct in factious times; the abjuration oath was commented on and made lawful and right and seemed to be a sort of Higdenian business (no matter what the Pretender's private right be), that was no business of a subject to consider, &c.; that obedience was right so long as King George was on the throne, &c.; to that purpose, as I remember." (*Remains*, ii. 225; where see note as to W. Higden's *View of the English Constitution, with respect to the Sovereign Authority of the Prince and the Allegiance of the Subject, in vindication of the lawfulness of taking the Oath to her Majesty, by law required*; 1709.)]

Sir John. WHY so grave, Harry? What's the matter, pray?
*W*hat makes thee look so sorrowful To-day?

Harry. Whoy, Sur, I geet sore trubbl'd i' my Moind
At what yon Folk han tou'd me, wheer I doin'd.

Sir J. Prithee, what's that?

H. They touden me, Sur *John*,
That ye han sent a Summons to a Mon

To tak an Ooath, a meety long on' too ;
An' they aw sen it's moore till he con doo.

Sir J. Do, or not do, what Bus'ness is't of thine ?

H. "Bus'ness?" Whoy, he's a Naibor, Sur, o' mine; 10
An' ye han hard, beloike, aoor Pairson tell,
'At one mun love their Naibor as theirsel ;—
Besoides 'at he's a sarviseable Felly
As onny 'at we han o'th' Bus'ness, welly.
And, then, an Ooath ye shanno' hyear come aoot
O' that Mon's Maooth, Sur *John*, the year abaoot ;
An' if he be i'th' Moind 'at he has been,
Yo'n foind it mich ado to cram one in.

Sir J. Harry, that Matter we shall soon discuss :
Trial of Skill is now 'twixt him and us. 20
We must, and will subdue him, if we can,
He's a *seditious, refractory* Man.

H. Nay, if ye bin for giving aoot o' Hond
Hard Words, Sur, 'at one connot understand,
I'll say no moor ;—or else I ha' ta'en a Wauk,
That yo and I mit'n have a Bit o' Tauk.
But, happen, naoo yo're not i'th' Humour—

Sir J. Yes ;
Talk what thou wilt !

22 *Refractory, seditious.—B.*

8. *Sen.* Say.

Ib. Moore till = More than. Mr. Heywood did not notice this among the curious comparative collocations discussed by him, *u.s.*, pp. 13-14. Cf. ll. 149-150 and l. 256, *infra*.

14. *O'th' Bus'ness.* In the weavers' trade or craft, I suppose.

Ib. Welly. Well-ney = well-nigh, nearly. The use of this phrase is very characteristic; its deprecatory signification enabling it to qualify expressions stronger than could otherwise be used.

H. And yo'n no' tak't amiss?

Sir J. No.

H. Then I'll tell 'oo, Mester, whot I think.

Sir J. Sit thee down first ; wilt have a little Drink? 30

H. Nou ; nor yo noather ! We'n be soaber booath,
God willing, Sur, and tauk abaoot this *Ooath*.

Sir J. What dost thou know about it ?

H. Whoy, no' mich ;
That's true enough,—thank God ! I'm no' so rich.
But I con guex abaoot it weel enough :
Foke 'at han tan it, sen it's weary tough.
There's monny a one that wou'd ha' gen a Craoon
With aw his Heart, he neer had leet it daoon.

Sir J. But it shall cost this Fellow more than so,
If he don't take it ;—that I'll let him know. 40

H. Win ye, Sur?

Sir J. Yes, I will.

H. And if yo win,
Sur John, yo're guilty of a wicked Sin.

Sir J. Am I ? How so ?

H. Whoy, dunnot yo maintain
That Mon may tak God's *Holy Name i' vain* ?

Sir J. No, indeed, don't I ; 'tis what I abhor.

28. *Yo'n.* Yo willen. (You will.)

37. *Gen.* Given. (Not in the Glossaries.)

31. *We'n.* We willen. (We will.)

38. *Leet it daoon.* Swallowed it.

35. *Guex.* Guess. TIM BOBBIN'S

41. *Win ye.* Willen ye. (Will ye.)

Glossary.

Cf. *infra*, l. 65 : "yo win."

H. Then, pray ye, naoo, whot is this *Summons* for ?
 Is it not sent to make a Mon to swear
 Summot abaooot the *King*, and his *reet Heir* ?
 And are not yo weel satisfy'd, to boot,
 'At he mun tak *God's Name i' vain* to do't ?

50

Sir J. That's his Affair to look to, and not ours ;
 We act according to the legal Pow'r's.
 If private Conscience slight the public Call,
 It must e'en take the Consequence,—that's all !

H. Marry, enough o' Conscience ! And, good *Feeake*,
 Too mich by hauf, if Consciences may speeak !
 What mak' han yo', to mak' another Mon
 T' swear agen his ? What cawn ye that, *Sur John* ?

Sir J. We cannot make him, Man, unless he will.

H. Sur, Sur ! It comes to the same Mischief still,—
 Or warse, if oather ; for, if he fears God,
 And winno' swear, then yo tan up the Rod.
 Here's a Commandment kept that God has spokken ;
 And he mun pay for one o' yo'r's that's brokken.
 I say agen that, shift it haooyo win,
Sur John, yo're guilty of a wicked Sin.

60

Sir J. *Harry*, as Justice of the Peace, I'm tied
 For public Peace and Safety to provide ;
 So are my Brethren. Now, with this Intent,
 The Law directs our Summons to be sent.
 If disaffected Persons will not give
 The Constitution under which they live
 Proper Security, they must be made

70

55. *Feeake*. Faith. (Not in the Glossaries.)
 57. *Mak'*. See note to *Dialogue II*, l. 10, ante.

58. *Cawn*. Callen. (Call.)
 62. *Tan*. Taken. (Take.)

To feel the Force of what they would evade.
If we should suffer these *non-juring* Knaves,
We shall in Time be *Papists* all, and *Slaves*.

H. "Papists and Slaves?" Whoy, good Sur *John*, the *Pope*,—
The Deel himsel, con do no moor, I hope,
Then tempt a Mon to utter with his Tung,
I'th' Name o' God whot he believes is rung. 80
Mun we be *Papists*, if we dunnot make
A Mon belie his Maker for aoor Sake?
Mun we be *Slaves*, except we forceen Foke
To come and put their Necks into aoor Yoke?

Sir J. Thou dost, not, *Harry*, understand the Laws.

H. Whoy, han they, Sur, sich desperate lung Claws,
That a Mon's Conscience, hid within his Haire,
Mun be scratch'd aoot on't by 'um? For my Pait,
Laws or noa Laws, I'm sure we shidden do
As we aw wishen to be done unto. 90

Sir J. Good Faith, thou preachest tolerably well;
But would'st thou have thy Neighbour to rebel?
To make Disturbances in Church and State,
And not be punish'd till it is too late?
Magistrates, Man, must have a Care in Time,
And in the Bud must nip the sprouting Crime.

H. Nip it i'th' Bud? And so, it mun be doon,
Yo thinken then, by punishing too soon?
Magistrates, Sur, so haesty and so hard,
Ma'en aw th' Rebellions 'at thir ar i'th' Ward. 100
Let Foke be quiet; when they are so, Sur,
And noather Church nor State will mak a Stur.

88. *Aoot on't.* Out of it.

100. *Ma'en.* Maken. (Make.)
Ib. Ward. World.

But to be made to pay, or be forswaurn,
Vexes 'em booath, as sure as yo are baurn.
Whoy mun yo mak my Naibor pay sich Scores ?
His Sowl is his, as weel as yoars is yoars.

Sir F. The Law, not I, obliges him to pay.

H. Whoy win yo tak that Law agen him, hay ?
If yo mun do't, whether yo win or not,
Are yo a Papist, or a Slave, or whot ?
Tell me, if this faoo Play be not yoar ooan,
Whot mun yo pay for letting him alooaan ?

110

Sir F. I pay ? No Law obliges me to that.
What is it, *Harry*, that thou would'st be at ?

H. Whoy, Sur, at this :—when Laws ma'en mich adoo,
Monny a wise Mon is made into a Foo ;
Freeten'd, o'th' sudden, aoot of his reet Sense,
He'll sell his Wits and aw, to save his Pence.
But, pray, whot Mon, with hauf o' yoar good Thout,
Wou'd do his Naibor an ill Turn for Nout ?
When he himsel gets nere a Farthing by't
But shaum of hurting aoot of arrant Spite ?
This is the Wark, if yo'n consider weel,
Not of a *Mon*, Sur *John*, but of a *Deel*.
If one cud tak a Look i' that Mon's Breast,
We shudden see him what they cawn " possest."

120

Sir F. Thou mak'st a Devil of me ;——very well !

H. Nou, nou ; it's yo that ma'en one o' yo'rself.
I'd make a Mon o' ye, Sur, if I coud,—
A gradely Mon, that seeches to do good,

130

111. *Faoo*. Foul. Cf. *Dialogue I.*, l. 5. "properly," "handsomely." NODAL AND

119. *Good Thout*. Good sense.

MILNER compare Icelandic *greidhr*, ready ;

130. *Gradely*. Decent, proper, good, right. The adverb "gradely" signifies

greidh-liga, readily, promptly.

And not to labbor Books, and sarch a Cawse
For hately Doings in hard-favor'd Laws.

Sir J. Thou "sarches" me, I'm sure! Where hast thou had
This same Book-searching Information, Lad?
We have, 'tis true, been studying in what Shape
We best might catch thy Neighbour in a Scrape;
But, by thy Talking, we might spare the Pains,
And better Bus'ness might employ our Brains.

H. Ay, marry, meeght it! Thooas that letten aoot
Their Breeans to Mischief mit as weel be baoot; 140
Whoile they done so, it con be no greeat News
That Fokes shid caw 'um summat warse then Foos.

Sir J. Harry, thou'rt got into a talking Cue.

H. Yo gin me Leeaf, Sur, do not ye?

Sir J. I do.—

Now, prithee, tell me then, and talk away,
Nor mince the Matter: what do People say?

H. I'll tell o', Sur. "Aoor *Justices*," they sen,
"That tan themsels to be sich loyal Men,
Makken moor Enemies to th' King and Craoon
Till onny Twenty Men besoide i'th' Taoon. 150
They praisen mich this Government of aoors,
Becose it has no 'harbittary Paoors;'
For 'Trade, Religion, Liberties enjoy'd,
It sheds aw th' Governments i'th' Ward besoide:

132. *Hately.* "Hateful; bad-tempered. A.S. *hetel*, *hetol*; fierce." NODAL I, l. 12.)
AND MILNER, who cite a West Midland Dialect poem of the 14th century for the form "hatal."

140. *Baoot.* Without. (Cf. *Dialogue*

154. *Sheds.* Shades. (Overshadows, surpasses.) NODAL AND MILNER.

His ooan Oppinion e'ry Mon may take ;
 Noa Parsecution in't for Conscience' Sake :'
 Monny sich Words they han, as smooth as Oyl,—
 And Deeds as sharp as Alegar aw th' whoile.
 They getten to a CORNER by 'umsels,
 And there they done, i'th' Ward o' God, nowt elz
 But tan their Books, their Bacco, and their Beer,
 And conjurn up poor Fellows to appear ;
 And then the gost'ring—what'n ye caw it ?—Corum,
 Mun huff, and ding, and carry aw before 'um." 160

158. *Alegar.* According to Johnson, a sour ale; a kind of acid made by ale, as *vinegar* by wine which has lost its spirit.

159. *They getten to a CORNER by themselves.* This alludes to the place (not so far as I know hitherto identified by local research) where at this critical period the Manchester Justices, hard-run in their endeavours to satisfy both public interest and local sentiment, were accustomed to sit three times a week, and exact the oaths from disaffected or doubtful persons. (Axon's *Annals of Manchester*, p. 86.) Cf. the verses in the *Chester Courant* of March 3rd, 1747, reprinted in *Manchester Vindicated* (Chester, 1749), p. 166 :

"Roman Chief Captains were afraid of Law,
 But our Dragoons are under no such Awe;
 At first, by Order from our Arcopagus
 [sic]
 They were commission'd, as 'tis said, to plague us :
 Now, having got the Whip into their Hands,
 The Martial Senate of the Guard commands,
 By Skins indentur'd at their Office known
 To have a Dang'rous Corner of their own."

And see also *ib.* p. 244, a letter reprinted from the *Chester Courant*, No. 42, of June 2nd, 1747, and marked with the *MS.* signature "B" in my copy of *Manchester Vindicated*, where it is said, that "Politics, having crept into the Pulpit, have made it, they say, almost as bad as the *Dangerous Corner*."

163. *And then the gost'ring—what'n ye caw it ?—CORUM.* "*Gost'ring*" ("gost'-ring" in B, by a familiar metathesis of *r* and *l*) or *gawstring* is explained in the *Tim Bobbin Glossary* as "hectoring, bragging." See also *NODAL* AND *MILNER*, and etymological speculations *ap.* *HEYWOOD*, 29-30.

Ib. What'n ye caw it? *What'n* = what will they (or you)? Cf. *Hudibras*, Part i. Canto iii :

"Used him so like a base rascallion,
 That old Pyg—what d'ye call him—malion,
 That cut his mistress out of stone,
 Had not so hard-a-hearted one."

Ib. Corum. Quorum.

164. *Huff.* Swagger. For illustrations see *NARES*.

Ding. Strike, knock. *NARES*, *s.v.*, from *Poor Robin* (1709) :

"For these the neighbours do not swagger,
 Nor huff, and ding, and draw the dagger."

Sir J. A fine Description, truly, and quite free !
But, *Harry*, how did it appear to thee ?
Could'st thou not find, where thou hast been to dine,
One Word to say for an old Friend of thine ?

H. Yoi, Sur, I said as mich as e'er I coud ;
But whaint ado I had to mak it good.
This *Summons*, Sur, this *Summons* ! sie upon't !
Whot argufi'd my *Tung* agen yoar *Hondt* ?
Whene'er they thrutten that into my Dish,
It strick me dumb aootreet as onny Fish.
Had I gooan on,—I know, Sur, what I know,—
They'd soon ha' said I wur as bad as yo.
Yo conno' think,—if I may be believ'd,—
Yo conno' think, Sur, haoo my Heart wus griev'd !
I'd fain ha' yo belov'd, Sur, in yoar Turn,
As aw your Anciters before ye wurn ;
And I believe that none o' th' Race before,
Be who they win, cou'd e'er desarve it moor ;
If thoosas good Qualities that God has gin ye,
Mit but appear withaoot, as they are in ye.
But i' this one faoo Pleck, I need mun say,
Yo generaten fro' 'um quite away.
I hope you tan it i' good Part, Sur *John* ;
I meeann to sarve ye,—

170

180

Sir J. Honest Lad, go on !
I think thou dost ; thee I shall sooner heed

170. *Whaint.* Quaint, strange. Cf. note to *Dialogue I.*, l. 49.

173. *Thruttent.* Throw, thrust. NODAL AND MILNER note the use of "thrutt" both as a preterite and as a past participle = "threw," "thrown."

172. *Hondt.* COLLIER notes that "the letter *d* at the end of words, and the termination *ed*, are in the Lancashire Dialect often changed into *t*, as "behint" for "behind," "awkert" for "awkward," &c. A "hontle" is Lancashire for a "handful." (NODAL AND MILNER.)

185. *Pleck.* Place. Cf. *Dialogue I.*, l. 136.

186. *Yo generaten away.* You degenerate.

Than twenty prating Wiseacres. Proceed !

190

H. Whoy then, Sur *John*, if I may be so boud,
Good-Will, when getten, is as good as *Goud*.
 Yoar Faither left ye here a foine Estate,
 He sout his Naibors *Love*, and not their *Hate* ;
 His Principles wurn of another Mak'
 From thooas 'at yo han been advois'd to tak'.
 This *greeat lung Ooath* he ne'er coud understand ;
 If yo bin wiser, naoo yo han his Lond,
 Better for yo ; and yet I conno' skill
 Haoo it shid happen ;—but be that as't will, 200
 Yet for yoar Faither's Seeake 'at's dead and gone,
 Yo shid'n consider wi' yoar sel, Sur *John*,
 Whether it's hondsom for his Son and Heir
 To fource loike-moinded Men to come and swear.
 Monny han said that seen ye so behave :
 "Sur *John* here *tramples on his Faither's Grave*."
 If, when *th' oud Mester* wur alive himsel,
 The *Justices*, for Fear he shid rebel,
 Had usen'd him as yo done other Foke,
 Yoar *Wheels* had wanted monny a pratty *Spoke* ! 210
 Had he been made, agen his ooan Consent,
 A *Papish*, Sur, by *Act o' Parliament*,
 Yo woud'n ha' caw'd 'um by their proper Name
 That did the Thing, tho naoo yo done the same.
 Th' oud Mon's hard yoozitch woud ha' raisd yoar Blood——

Sir J. So really, *Harry*, I believe it would ;
I should not quietly have sitten still,
Had any of 'em us'd my Father ill.

194. *Sout.* Sought.212. *A Papish*; i.e., declared a Recu-199. *Skill.* Distinguish, understand.

sant.

Shakspeare uses "it skills not greatly" in the sense, "it makes no great difference, it is no great matter."

215. *Yoozitch.* Usage. But this is a dialect-form of the Yellowplush species.

H. Whoy, Sur, and conno' yo think at it, then,
And show some Marcy naoo to other Men ?
Suppose this Mon, becosé he conno' think
Just as yo done, had nooather Meeat nor Drink ;
Coud no', becosé 'at Laws ma'en sich a Paoose,
Wark in his Bus'ness and maintain his Haoose ;
But aw his Children wurn to beg i'th' Street,—
Wouden yo think it sich a blessèd Seet ?
Woud no' yo say, at seeing Rags and Ruin :
"The Deel wus in me ! What wus I adoing ?"—
Yo gan me Leeaf to tauk, Sur,—

220

Sir J. So I did,
And must confess that I am fairly chid.
Thy honest Bluntness oft has made me smile,
Harry, but I ne'er hed thee all the while ;
Now, I believe that thou hast gain'd thy End
And *I*, a better Temper tow'rds thy Friend.

230

H. Eh, Sur ? God send it ! If yoar Heart wur oppen'd
To loving Thouts, hao Naibors wou'd be gloppen'd !
Before this *Justicing* made sich a Pother,
Hao naiburly we liven'd with t'one t'other !
But naoo,—

Sir J. Well, *Harry*, thou hast said enough ;
I hope, I shan't hereafter be so rough ;
Nor sharpen, when they come within my Sphere,
Laws of themselves sufficiently severe.
When thou shalt see him, tell thy *Friend* from me,
If he'll be quiet, quiet he shall be.
Tell all thy Neighbours that the Thing is done :
The *Father's* Memory shan't reproach the *Son*.
Tho' all his Thoughts and mine were not the same,

240

His Worth and Virtues shall direct my Aim.
 And, now I have confess to thee, Friend *Harry*,
 We'll call another Cause, if thou canst tarry ; 250
 This thou hast richly merited to win.—
 Here ! Who's in waiting ? bring a Tankard in !

H. Nay, Sur, yo mun excuse me, if yo pleasen ;
 Yoar Kindness here in harkening to Reeason
 Has made my Hairt (dry as a Kex, Sur *John*),
 Weeter and leeter till good Likkor con.
 I'll go my Ways, Sur, whooam afore it's dark,
 And let aoor Naibors know o' this Day's Wark ;
 I lung to see 'um feeling whot I feel,
 At present, Sur, God bless ye, and fareweel !

255. *Dry as a Kex.* “Kecks or *Kex*, Mr. Gaskell that the word is of Celtic origin, the hollow stem of the common hemlock, used by lads to shoot peas with, also for making a rude flageolet.” NODAL AND MILNER, who cite *Henry V.*, v. 2, 154 for the word “Kekyses” (“Kecksies”) and Tennyson’s *Princess* for “the rough Kex.” Skeat confirms the conjecture of

“Dry as a Kex” is according to NODAL AND MILNER a Lancashire phrase still in use for “thirsty.”

256. *Weeter and leeter till good Likkor con.* Wetter and lighter than good liquor can.

VERSES CONTRIBUTED TO THE *CHESTER COURANT.*

[The bulk of the pieces here reproduced under the above heading are reprinted from a copy in my possession of the curious volume entitled "MANCHESTER VINDICATED: BEING A COMPLEAT COLLECTION OF THE PAPERS lately published in Defence of that Town, in the CHESTER COURANT. Together with all those on the other Side of the QUESTION Printed in the MANCHESTER MAGAZINE or elsewhere, which are answered in the said CHESTER COURANT.

*Indyta Brundusium, cui jam convicia solæ
Ignavos homines ingeminare juvat.
Sustinuit cunctas clarissima Villa procellas,
Rupibus haud impar stabilitate suis.
Vos, quibus antiquæ placuit constantia Matris,
Hoc mea suavisonæ jungite verba Lyra.—
Dum totam peteret Rabies Fanatica gentem,
Solum non potuit Rumpere Brundusium.*

—Anonym. Author, ex vet. Cod. MS.

Chester : Printed by and for Eliz. Adams, 1749." A few are reprinted from a copy, kindly lent to me by Mr. J. P. Earwaker, of "THE CHESTER MISCELLANY : being a Collection of several Pieces both in Prose and Verse, which were in the CHESTER COURANT from January, 1745, to May, 1750. Chester, 1750." The *Manchester Magazine* was the new title adopted in 1737 by the *Manchester Gazette*, the first number of which was published by Henry Whitworth on December 22nd, 1730. The *Manchester Magazine* was sold at three half-pence. (See Axon's *Annals of Manchester*, pp. 80, 82.)

The printer of *Manchester Vindicated*, Mrs. Adams, was the printer of the *Chester Courant*. Byrom was openly associated with the papers which created a vogue for the latter print. (See Owen's Letter published in the *Supplement to the Gentleman's Magazine* for 1746, cited in the *Introductory Note to Sir Lowbred O . . n, infra.*)

In my copy of *Manchester Vindicated* a number of pieces are respectively marked, by a *MS.* annotator, “*B*” or “*T*.¹ Obviously, “*B*” stands for Byrom, and “*T*” for Robert Thyer, for many years Librarian of the Chetham Library and editor of the *Genuine Remains in Verse and Prose of Samuel Butler, with Notes* (1759). Whether the epithet “genuine” is rightly applied to these *Remains* is a question beyond the present purpose; some of the notes were contributed by Byrom’s kinsman, Christopher Byrom, lawyer to Chetham’s Hospital, who also wrote a number of the notes to Z. Grey’s well-known edition of *Hudibras*, 1744, in the *Preface* to which his assistance is acknowledged. Thyer was a valued friend and correspondent of John Byrom’s, and a kindred spirit in various matters besides their Jacobite sympathies. (Cf. *Remains*, i. 509 note, *et el.*) I should guess the motto of the *Chester Courant* (with its prophetic application of the name “Brundusium” to Manchester) to be Thyer’s rather than Byrom’s,—and this not only because of the Hudibrastic pun with which it concludes.

The *Chester Miscellany*, it may be added, professes to be entirely impartial; but its general design may be gathered from the statement that “some Poems are omitted, as they have been not long since published in another Miscellany, entitled *Manchester Vindicated*.²” Obviously, the new *Miscellany* was intended as a supplement to its predecessor. Besides political pieces, it contains a number of Old Testament paraphrases. But only one or two of the former, and none of the latter, can, in my judgment, with any degree of probability be ascribed to Byrom.

These newspaper controversies gave great trouble to the powers that were; and I have seen cited from the *Newcastle MSS.* a letter from Bishop Peploe of Chester (1726–1752), bearing date as far back as November 11th, 1740, in which the Bishop complains to the Duke (then Secretary of State) of the disloyal printing-presses in his diocese, and suggests as a remedy the plan of making their productions *dearer*.]

I.

TOM THE PORTER.

[These verses, which appeared in the *Chester Courant* of Tuesday, November 25th, 1746, and were reprinted in *Manchester Vindicated*,

pp. 16 seqq., are to be found in both A and B. I have collated the *Manchester Vindicated* copy, which differs in no essential point.

Byrom's authorship of these verses is accepted by a concurrence of opinion supported by the most satisfactory internal evidence. It therefore seems hardly worth mentioning, that the article to which they are appended in the *Chester Courant* is by my *MS.* annotator marked “*T*” (not “*B*”); more especially as there seems no organic connexion between the prose and the verse.

In this Apologue, “Tom the Porter” is obviously made the principal figure as representing “one of the lowest and least lucrative employments of life.” (See the episode in Henry Brooke’s *The Fool of Quality* (1766), ch. ix., where an indigent gentleman essays this method of earning a livelihood.)

The following verses had the honour of being in substance reproduced in prose by a great English writer. See Letter iv. of Goldsmith’s *Citizen of the World* (1760).]

A S Tom the Porter went up Ludgate-Hill,
A swingeing Show'r oblig'd him to stand still.
So, in the Right-hand Passage thro' the Gate
He pitch'd his Burden down, just by the Grate,
From whence the doleful Accent sounds away:
“Pity—the Poor—and Hungry—Debtors—pray.”

2. *A swingeing Show'r.* To “swing” is to whip or chastise. “Swingeing” is used in the sense of “great, huge,” in Lancashire as well as in ordinary Edglish. See NODAL AND MILNER, and JOHNSON’S *Dictionary*, where, however, it is called “a low word.”

3. *In the Right-hand Passage thro' the Gate.* Ludgate, which was not taken down till 1760, had since the reign of Richard II. been a prison. Anciently appropriated to the freemen of the City and to clergymen, it was then no common gaol—“not *Seclerorum Carcer, sed*

Miserorum Custodia.” (STRYPE.) It was rebuilt in 1586, and in the following century attracted not only alms in abundance, but many bequests. None of these benefactions, however, reached the poor debtors or other prisoners, being intercepted by the Keeper of the box and his sub-officials. When Ludgate was finally taken down, the prisoners were removed to the London Workhouse in Bishopsgate Street. See P. Cunningham’s *Handbook of London*, s.v.

4. *The Grate.* The grating.

To the same Garrison from *Paul's Church-yard*
 An half-drown'd Soldier ran to mount the Guard.
 Now *Tom*, it seems, the *Ludgateer*, and he
 Were old Acquaintance, formerly, all three ;
 And as the Coast was clear, by cloudy Weather,
 They quickly fell into Discourse together.

10

'Twas in *December*, when the *Highland Clans*
 Had got to *Derbyshire* from *Preston Pans*,
 And struck all *London* with a general Panic ;—
 But mark the Force of Principles *Britannic* !

The Soldier told 'em fresh the City News,
 Just piping hot from *Stockjobbers* and *Jews* :
 Of *French Fleets* landing, and of *Dutch Neutrality* ;
 Of Jealousies at Court amongst the Quality ;

20

10 Were formerly acquaintances all.—B.

15 Had struck all London with a useful.—B.

7. *From Paul's Church-yard.* Although (see CUNNINGHAM, s.v.) there appears to have been at one time a guardhouse in St. Paul's Churchyard, where the soldiers in the Commonwealth-time gave much trouble to passers-by, I presume that this erection was removed before or when the Cathedral was rebuilt, and that no allusion to it is intended here.

9. *The Ludgateer.* The inhabitant of Ludgate. Cf. "gazeteer," &c. In Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour* "poor needy Ludgathians" are coupled with "bankrupts," doubtless in allusion to the imprisoned debtors.

13-15. *'Twas in December*, &c. Preston Pans was "fought" and won on September 21st, 1745; Prince Charles entered Derby on the evening of December 4th; and December 6th was the long-remembered "Black Friday," when utter con-

sternation prevailed in London, although it was on that very day that the insurgents began their retreat northwards.

19. *Of FRENCH Fleets landing.* A French expedition was at the time in full readiness to sail from Dunkirk.

Ib. Of DUTCH neutrality. The withdrawal from the Low Countries of 25,000 British troops under the Duke of Cumberland took place early in 1746; but the rumours, which arose about the same time, of a treaty of neutrality supposed to have been negotiated for the Dutch Republic by the Pensionary Gilles, had their origin in a general movement of democratic discontent in Holland and Zealand.

20. *Of Jealousies at Court amongst the Quality.* "Mr. Breton, a great favourite of the Southern Prince of Wales, went the other day to visit the Duchess of Athol, and happened to ask how the Duke did.

Of *Swarston* Bridge, that never was pull'd down ;
Of all the Rebels in full March to Town ;
And of a hundred Things beside, that made
Lord May'r himself and Aldermen afraid,—
Painting with many an Oath the Case in View ;
And ask'd the Porter what he thought to do ?

“ Do ? ” says he, gravely ; “ what I did before ;
What I have done these thirty Years, and more :
Carry, as I am like to do, my Pack,
Glad to maintain my Belly by my Back.
If that but hold, I care not, for my Part,
Come as come will, 't shall never break my Heart.
I don't see Folks that fight about their Thrones,
Mind either Soldiers' Flesh, or Porters' Bones.
Whoe'er gets better, when the Battle's fought,
Thy Pay nor mine will be advanc'd a Groat.—

30

38 I'll join with thee.—B. 50 March'd into the. 1749.

‘Oh,’ said she, ‘he turned me out of his house, and now he is turned out himself.’” *Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann*, September 13th, 1745. “The Dowager Strafford has already written cards for my Lady Nithsdale, my Lady Tullibardine, the Duchess of Perth and Berwick, and twenty more revived Peeresses, to invite them to play at Whisk, Monday three months ! . . . Will you ever write to me at my garret at Herrenhausen ? ” . . . *Id.* to *George Montagu*, September 18th, 1745.

Other illustrations of Jacobite velleities among “the Quality” of this time might doubtless be quoted ; but on the whole it is the habitual tendency of Court society not to precipitate its action ; and the overthrow of the dynasty, had it taken place, would probably have met with a tolerably impassive acquiescence in these spheres.

21. *Of SWARSTON Bridge, that never was pull'd down.* “ Swarkeston Bridge, six miles beyond Derby, on the road to London, was, in reality, the extreme point of this singular invasion ; because the insurgents posted an advanced guard there, which kept possession of the pass till the retreat was determined on . . . ” R. CHAMBERS, *History of the Rebellion of 1745-6* (7th edⁿ), p. 191 note.

23. *And of a hundred Things beside.* For instance, the run on the Bank of England, “which it is said only escaped bankruptcy by paying in sixpences, to gain time.” STANHOPE’S *History of England* (5th ed.), iii. 275.

33. *I don't see Folks that fight about their Thrones.* “Quidquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.” HOR., *E.P.*, I., ii. 14.

But, to the Purpose ! Now we are met here,
I'll join, if t'will, for one full Mug of Beer."

The Soldier, touch'd a little with Surprise
To see his Friend's Indifference, replies : 40
 " What you say, *Tom*, I own, is very good,
But——OUR RELIGION !" and he d——n'd his Blood—
 " What will become of OUR RELIGION ?"—" True !"—
 Says the Jail-Bird ; " and of OUR FREEDOM too ?
 If the PRETENDER," rapt he out, " comes on,
 OUR LIBERTIES AND PROPERTIES are gone ! "

And so the Soldier and the Pris'ner join'd
To work up *Tom* into a better Mind.
 He staring dumb, with Wonder struck and Pity,
 Took up his Load and trudg'd into the City. 50

II.

ON TESTS.

[The following verses, which I incline to attribute to Byrom, are reprinted from the *Chester Courant* of December 16th, 1746, in *Manchester Vindicated*, pp. 62–3, as an *envoi* to a letter dated Manchester, November 28th, 1746, commenting ironically on a letter in the *Manchester Magazine*, which concluded with a contrast between the Nonjuring Bishop and the Dissenter, to the advantage of the latter. The lines are marked "B" in my copy of *Manchester Vindicated*.

The point of the lines of course lies in the argument, as addressed to Nonjurors, of "*non tali auxilio.*" In other words, there is a difference between "Tests" and "tests."]

THIS contrast of Dissenter and Nonjuror
Shews, to be sure, which Side is much the surer :

Strong the Dissenter's, the Nonjuror's weak,
Who vainly for himself attempts to speak.
Says he—"That all Men by an equal Right
Judge for themselves, according to their Light ;
That no Man's Conscience should be rul'd by Force,
Which needs not good ones, and makes bad ones worse ;
That to impose however true a Creed,
Is what the World calls Popery, indeed ;
That all, by Turns, lament the common Grief
Of Penal Laws to punish Men's Belief." 10

All these are Arguments (it is confess)
With a Dissenter—that won't bear the Test.

14. *The Test.* Imposed by the Act of Church of England, and to subscribe a 1673, requiring all persons to receive the declaration against transubstantiation. Sacrament according to the mode of the
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III.

MISS —'S OBSERVATION UPON THE *LATIN MOTTO.*

[Whitworth's *Manchester Magazine* of September 23rd, 1746, cited in *Manchester Vindicated*, p. 1, contained the following paragraph, referring to two officers of the "Manchester Regiment," executed as rebels on Kennington Common, July 30th, and the father of one of them, Byrom's friend Dr. Thomas Deacon, the non-juring "Bishop": "Last Thursday about 5 in the Morning the Heads of Thos. Siddal and Thos. Deacon were fixed upon the Exchange." [With them was also set up the head of a third executed rebel officer of the same regiment, Thos. Chadwick.] "Great Numbers have been to view them; and Yesterday betwixt eight and nine in the Morning, Dr. Deacon, a Nonjuring Priest, and Father to one of them, made a full Stop near the Exchange, and looking up at the Heads, pull'd off his Hat, and made a Bow to them with great Deference. He afterwards stood some time looking at them. A Gentleman of this Town was with him, and a considerable Number of

Spectators were present. He and some of his Flock have been seen to do so before several times." (Cf. *infra*, *An Epistle to a Friend*, &c. (1747), l. 313 note.)

In reference to these proceedings of the dauntless Dr. Deacon and the censures provoked by them, the *Chester Courant* of November 20th, 1746, contained the following : " Doctor Deacon lately attending a Funeral, which necessarily brought him by the End of the Exchange, and observing some of Mr. Whitworth's Family ready planted to take Notice of him : to let the World see that he would not be directed in his Behaviour by a common Newspaper-Printer concerning a thing of itself indifferent, pulled off his Hat ; and to shew our great Censor of Manners how much he despised his Sentence, and how little he feared being recorded in his *Magazine*, said aloud, ' You may now put me in Print again, if you will ; ' which our *very wise* News-Writer accordingly did. This has occasioned the following Epigrams." To the last of the series the signature "*B*" is, probably with good warrant, appended by my *MS.* annotator. The nature of the point of the piece obliges me to cite the rival efforts to which it refers :

" *Mr. Whitworth* not long ago inserted" [in his *Manchester Magazine*] " what he call'd a Piece of *Jacobite* Wit, viz.:

' The De'el has set these Heads to View,
And put them upon Poles.
Poor De'el ! 'twas all that he could do,
When God had ta'en their Souls ! '

With an Answer under it, with this *Latin* Motto : '*Facit Indignatio Versum*' [Juvenal, *Sat.* iv. 79] ; 'and the first Line running thus :

' These Heads were set up by the De'el and Pope.'

Upon which came out the following :

' The De'el has set these Heads to View,'—
Begins the first Wit of the Two ;
The NEXT comes jumping at his Heel :
' These Heads were set up by the De'el.'
Where's the Dispute ? They're both agreed
That 'twas the De'el that did the Deed.'"

(See *Manchester Vindicated*, pp. 70-1.)

A more inane attempt it would not be easy to imagine; and Byrom (if it was he,—and his authorship of the retort is perhaps rendered the

more probable by its being addressed to a "brother" in affliction, no doubt Dr. Deacon himself—) may be allowed to have not infelicitously finished off this feeble wit-combat.]

FOLKS are grown witty upon one another ;
But what's the Meaning of that Latin, Brother,
That stands a-top there of the lowest Wit ?
"Why, '*Indignation makes the Verse.*'"—"That's it.
But, pray now, if one turn the Observation,
What's Latin for '*The Verse makes Indignation?*'"

IV.

LOVERS OF LIBERTY.

[The following Epigram, which cannot be attributed to Byrom except by way of probable conjecture, is appended to a letter in the *Chester Courant* of January 20th, 1747, addressed to a Gentleman in Cheshire, and "in the name of the Public Liberty of all" defending Dr. Deacon against the charge of holding the doctrine of Purgatory. The letter, as reprinted in *Manchester Vindicated*, p. 115, is marked "B" above the Epigram by my MS. annotator; but I incline to charge Byrom with the verse as well as with the prose.]

This Epigram irresistibly recalls Heine's famous saying that a Frenchman loves his country as his mistress, an Englishman loves his as his wedded wife, and a German his as his old grandmother. Heine lived long enough to foresee the era in which a good many Frenchmen, Englishmen and Germans would love their respective countries "freely"—as providing them with a night's lodging.]

"BALBUS, methinks, the Friends of Liberty
Who preach up Freedom should let *all* be free."—
"Aye, so think I ; but you mistake the Name :
These are not Friends, but Lovers of that same ;
And *Lovers* are, you know, such selfish Elves,
They always keep their *Mistress* to themselves."

V.

DE FACTO LOYALTY.

[I am inclined to agree with my *MS.* annotator, who appends the signature “*B*” to these lines, at the foot of a letter to the *Chester Courant* of Tuesday, February 3rd, 1747, reprinted in *Manchester Vindicated*, p. 127. The Letter is in reply to an adversary in the *Manchester Magazine*, who had, *inter alia*, maintained: “In a Word, if all Forms of Government are purely of human Institution, why should not the Minority submit to the Majority in this [the case of the Revolution] as well as in other Cases? Conscience, their Duty to their Neighbours, the Holy Scriptures themselves, plainly obliges them to this.” The letter to the *Chester Courant* concludes with the following apologue:

“In the Government of *Sweden*, not long ago, there were three different Parties, call’d (as the News-Papers acquainted us) *Hats*, *Caps*, and *Bonnets*. Their grand Debate was about the Succession to the *Swedish Crown*; and the several Sorts of Right to it were canvass’d, I suppose, with much the same Intenseness of Party-Zeal and Learning, as may have serv’d to agitate occasionally such kind of Questions in our own Country. One *Olaus* somebody, I forget his Name, who knew how often all their wise Debates *de Jure* had been determined by success *de Facto*, being queried by one of his Acquaintance about their Monarchy, its Rise, Succession, and the like, to divert him from his too great Party-Eagerness, sent him a Solution of his Problems in an Epigram, which translated from the *Swedish* Original, runs thus.”

The illustration from Swedish history, and the well-known division of parties in that country under the designations of “*Hats*” and “*Caps*,” derive their force from the fact that during the greater part of the eighteenth century Swedish politics were practically the battling-ground of aristocratic factions, the Crown and the multitude being alike reduced to impotence. *Mutatis mutandis*, things went on in much the same way in England, where, however, George III. “revived the monarchy” with more discretion than was shown by Gustavus III. in Sweden.]

SUCCESS the First begot Success the Second ;
And then, when Queen Majority had reckon’d,

Success the Third was born ; when he was dead,
Success the Fourth was crown'd in his stead.
So on, by Arithmētical Progression,
The Numbers christen'd give the true Succession.
Hats, Caps, and Bonnets do but talk at Random;
This is the Fact.—*Quod erat demonstrandum.*

3. *Success the Third was born, when he was dead, &c.* This kindly hint at the contingencies of the future suits the date of the Epigram.

7. *Bonnets.* In allusion to a very prominent British party of the years 1745–6, and to the national headgear of its chief supporters in arms.

8. **QUOD ERAT DEMONSTRANDUM.**
Cf. the concluding couplet of the verses *On the Whig Workhouse Bill* (*ante*, Part i. p. 220) :

“Thus it appears, that questions put at random
Were answered right. *Quod erat demon-
strandum.*”

VI.

ON THE NATURALISATION BILL.

[This and the five ensuing Epigrams appear to refer to the Bill brought into the House of Commons by Robert (afterwards Earl) Nugent in 1745, and again in 1751, with the object of naturalising foreign Protestants upon their taking the oaths and receiving the Sacrament in any Protestant church. These Bills were intended to revive an Act passed in 1709, but repealed in 1712, amidst a good deal of both commercial and religious excitement. (Swift, in *The Last Four Years of Queen Anne*, expresses these sentiments in a phrase characteristically charitable and refined: “A Kingdom can no more be the richer by such an importation than a man can be father by a wen.”) In 1745–6, public opinion still ran in much the same direction as that taken by it in the days of the “poor Palatines,” although the hire, in 1746, in spite of earlier Parliamentary declamation, of 18,000 “Hanoverians” may have given additional point to the contention. The Naturalisation

Bills of 1745 and 1751 had, however, in their favour the popular belief that the population of the country had of late decreased through excessive drinking. (Cf. LECKY'S *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, i. 261; Lord Stanhope's *Reign of Queen Anne*, 1870, p. 475.)

The discussions on the Naturalisation Bill no doubt recalled the memories of the agitation of December, 1693, when a measure for the naturalisation of foreign Protestants passed the first two readings without a division, but was violently opposed on the motion for its commitment. The most effective speech against it was delivered by Sir John Knight, the Jacobite member for Bristol, a published version of which, after being widely circulated, was disavowed by its supposed author and burnt by order. The bill itself was allowed to drop. (See MACAULAY'S *History of England*, chap. xx.)

Sir John Knight's disavowed speech was resuscitated in the *Chester Courant* of January 27th, 1747; and, the issue of that veracious print of the ensuing February 10th stated: "on Saturday evening we received from *Bristol* the six following Pieces, which are said to have been found in the Study of the *Honest Patriot* above-mentioned." (See *Manchester Magazine*, pp. 133 *seqq.*) Inasmuch as upon these six efforts of wit there follow in the *Chester Courant* two others, stated in a prefatory note to have "come from another Quarter,"—there is reason for supposing the entire following series to be by Byrom. Only those numbered vii., ix., x., xi., have, however, found their way into A and B.]

SIR, in my Mind, this is but half a Bill;
 There wants the proper Tally to it still :
 " PROVIDED also, That We home-bred Caitiffs
 Do clear the Coast for these Outlandish Natives."
 Let, for our Country's sake, this Clause remain,
 And it shall have no Subject to complain.

2. *The proper Tally to it.* The other half. A tally was a piece of wood on which was inscribed an acquittance for money received; and on this being "struck" or cloven by an official, the "stock" was retained by the person lending money to

the Government, the "counter-stock" or "counterfoil" being preserved in the Tally Office in the Exchequer.

6. *It shall have no Subject to complain.* The pun calls for attention.

Establish then, O Wisdom of the Nation,
For *Foreigners* a Naturalisation ; }
For English, Welsh and Scotch—a general Transportation. }

7. *O Wisdom of the Nation.* The expression “the Collective Wisdom of the Nation” used within recent memory to be employed as an equivalent for “Parliament”

VII.

ON THE SAME.

COME, all ye foreign strolling Gentry ;
Into *Great Britain* make your Entry ;
Abjure the Pope, and take your Oaths,
And you shall have Meat, Drink and Clothes.

i O all ye. 1749.

VIII.

ON THE SAME.

[Whether or not Byrom wrote the following lines, they certainly apply rather happily the legend of the asylum, which forms one of the naïvest portions of Livy's narrative (*lib. I. cap. 8*). Whether the story was made backwards to suit the traditions of the locality “*inter duos lucos*,” or borrowed from Greek notions of the “asylum,” a custom and a word alike foreign to Republican Rome, need not here be discussed.]

SO *Romulus* his Empire founded whilom,
And made for Foreign Helpmates an Asylum ;

i *Remulus.* 1749.

By whose Assistance, you may read in *Livy*,
 O'er all the country round he rid Tantivy ;
 From ev'ry Quarter sturdy Villains ran,
 And crown'd his *Naturalisation-Plan*.

4. *O'er all the country round he rid roboris fuit . . . Jam res Romana adeo Tantivy.* Rode Tantivy. See LIV. i. 8-9: *erat valida, ut cuilibet finitimarum civitatum primum ad captam magnitudinem tum bello par esset.*"

IX.

ON THE SAME.

WITH Languages dispers'd, Men were not able
 To top the Skies, and build the Tow'r of *Babel* ;
 But, if to *Britain* they shall cross the Main,
 And meet by *Act of Parliament* again,—
 Who knows, when all together they repair,
 How high a Castle may be built in Air ?

X.

ON THE SAME.

THIS Act reminds me, Gen'men, under Favour,
 Of old *John Bull*, the Hair-Merchant and Shaver.
John had a Sign put up, whereof the Writing
 Was strictly copied from his own inditing,
 Under the painted Wigs, both *Bob* and *Full* :
 " *Moast Munny paid for living HERE.—*

John Bull."

3 *Jack* had a sign. 1749.

5. *Bob* and *Full*. Cf. the Introductory Note to *Verses spoken Extempore*, &c., *ante*, Part I. p. 94.

6. *Living HERE.* It is again my duty to direct attention to the pun, in this instance of a compound character.

XI.

ADVERTISEMENT UPON THE SAME.

NOW upon Sale, a Bankrupt Island,
To any Stranger that will buy Land.—
The *Birthright*, note, for further Satis-
faction, is to be thrown in *gratis*.

XII.

THE RUMP PARLIAMENT: A HISTORICAL QUESTION.

[A short article in the *Chester Courant* of Tuesday, March 10th, 1747, reprinted in *Manchester Vindicated*, pp. 168–9, where it is marked “B” by my MS. annotator, replies to two contributions to the *Manchester Magazine*, signed respectively “John English” and “H. Hotspur.” The former of these had been written in support of another article in the *Magazine*, signed “Philalethes.” While pointing out the undeniable absurdity of smiting Presbyterians with the opprobrium attaching to the term “the Rump,” “Philalethes” had less successfully disputed the propriety of applying the term “the Rump Parliament” to the Remainder of the Commons, after the Seclusion by Cromwell in 1648, and had affirmed that the Parliament was first called “the Rump” in 1659, and had never been called so before. Against “Philalethes” a writer in the *Chester Courant*, signing himself “Philo-Mancuniensis,” had cited the use of the expression by Clement Walker in his *History of Independency*, printed in 1648–9 (Part II. of this work, printed 1649, and *The Complete History of Independency, continued till this present year 1660*, printed 1661, are in Byrom’s Library; see *Catalogue*, p. 225); and “John English” in his defence of “Philalethes” had confessed: “I might myself, who have read as much English History at least as either of these Authors, have been guilty of the like Error if it be one.” “Henry Hotspur” had followed suit with a silly letter, wherein he protests against the airs that “Philo-Mancuniensis”

had given himself on the authority of such a writer as Clement Walker, and indulges in the apostrophe (as actually printed) : " Pert indeed ! "

The article in the *Chester Courant* dwells on these efforts, introducing the following Epigram and that numbered xiii. They are both quite in Byrom's manner.]

SINCE *Philalethes* will indite no more,
John English comes to smooth the Blunder o'er.
 He writes about it, and about it writes ;
 What he has read, and never read, recites ;
 Much vers'd in History, he ends his Puff :
 "I might myself have made it."—Like enough !
 'Tis oft the case of learnèd Heretoforians,
 Who read much History,—but no Historians.

3. *He writes about it, and about it writes.*
 So Pope's "Aristarchus" (*Dunciad*, iv. 251–2) to the goddess of Dulness :
 "For thee explain a thing till all men
 doubt it,
 And write about it, Goddess, and about
 it."
 And, similarly, Churchill of Warburton,
The Duellist, bk. iii. :

"To prove his Faith, which all admit
 Is at least equal to his Wit,
 And make himself a Man of note
 He in defence of Scripture wrote ;
 So long he wrote, and long about it,
 That e'en Believers 'gan to doubt it."
 7. *Heretoforians.* Persons who read
 about former times. A very happily
 coined word.

XIII.

ON THE SAME.

[See *Introductory Note* to the previous piece.]

HOTSPUR was *very ready to turn out,*
 And write *irregularly Rump about* ;
 But when his Trash Correctors came to read,
 They altered "*Jackanapes !*" to "*Pert indeed !*"
 Passing by Nonsense in all other Shapes,
 Why should they turn thee out, poor *Jackanapes ?*

XIV.

THE GHOST OF THE RUMP.

[The *Chester Courant* of March 17th, 1747, contained a long and fliprant paper, reprinted in *Manchester Vindicated*, pp. 178 seqq., bantering the writers in the *Manchester Magazine* as to the “*Rump*” controversy (see *Introductory Note* to No. XII., *ante*) and cognate topics. Neither the text of this paper nor the doggrel with which it is interspersed are likely to have been written by Byrom; but it is possible that my *MS.* annotator is right in marking “*B*” the *Verses upon the foregoing Verses* with which the article concludes. The “*foregoing Verses*” are as follows:

Like Hamlet's Ghost a Rump's has made its Exit,
The Chester Papers did so sadly vex it.
So far this Ghost was like to that, where'er
The Phantom skipp'd about, it still cried : " SWEAR ! "
Like that, it wants to be remember'd to ;
Let's try then, what an Epitaph will do !
With its own lifeless *Magazines* inter it,
And write, in Justice to departed Merit : }
" Reader here lies a Ghost—without a Spirit." }

[The allusion of course is to the "Adieu, adieu, adieu! remember me!" and to the thrice repeated "Swear!" of the Ghost, in *Hamlet*, Act I. Sc. 5.]

THE Ghost of *Hamlet*! Was that Ghost a Rump?
Then, make in Shakespeare one Correction plump;
And in its Speech to *Hamlet*, Sir, be bold
To spell aright: "I could a TAIL unfold."

4. *I could a TAIL unfold.* Hamlet, Would harrow up thy soul," &c.
Act I. Sc. 5:
 " But that I am forbid
To tell the secrets of my prison-house,
I could a tale unfold, whose lightest word

The pun is excellent, indeed so excellent that it has become a household pun familiar to patrons of the illegitimate drama.

XV.

TO *MISO-MANC.* AND COMPANY.

[For reasons with which I need not weary the reader, I cannot believe Byrom guilty of any of the verse introduced into the discursive reply reprinted from the *Chester Courant* for March 24th, 1747, in *Manchester Vindicated*, pp. 184 *seqq.* The paper is marked “*B*” by my *MS.* annotator, but so, by a palpable blunder, is the next set of verses, reprinted on p. 191 from the *Manchester Magazine!* These I subjoin, as they suggested the epigrams Nos. XV., XVI., XVII., XVIII., which follow, and which are with some probability of correctness, ascribed to Byrom by my unknown authority. The *Manchester Magazine* verses are sufficiently explained by Nos. XII. and XIII., *ante*, and by the *Introductory Note* to the former of these pieces. The reference to the “poor De’el” is explained by the supposed “Piece of Jacobite Wit,” already cited in the *Introductory Note* to No. III., *ante*.

“To *Philo-Manc.* and *Comp.*

When *Philaleth.* from Paper-War withdrew
 Then English *Jack* and *Hal* the Fight renew.
 On *Philo-Manc.* and *Clan* their Pains bestow’d,
 That *Rump* was never *Presbyterian* show’d ;
Phil.’s Flams and Shuffling did with Sense confound ;
 Whilst he replies with Nonsense or mere Sound.
 Tell us, dear *Phil.*, what mean thy ‘*Heretoforians?*’—
 How differs ‘*History*,’ prithee, from ‘*Historians?*’—
 On *Hal* thou next wou’dst fall, but he escapes,
 And *Whitworth* suffers for poor *Jackanapes*.
 But thou retriev’st that Loss which is our Gains ;
 So prithee take it to thee for thy Pains !
 Dear me ! Has Wit and Verse, at last, no more
 ‘Gaint *Rump* and *Commonwealth* to say in Store ?
 ‘Gaint Whig Opponents this all thou canst write ?
 ‘Poor De’el,’ poor Poet, and poor Jacobite !”

Miso-Mancuniensis is of course so named as the adversary of *Philo-Mancuniensis.*]

SLAIN is the good old Cause, when *Philaleth.*,
 A Rumpish Martyr, blunder’d to his Death ;

The Fight renew'd by *English Jack* and *Hal*,
They worse confound the Matter than *Philal*.
With three such Champions sure the Cause will thrive,—
One dead, and Two that are not yet alive.

3. *English Jack*. “*John English*.” abbreviation; cf. “*Mel.*” for “*Melpomene*”
See Introductory Note to XII., *ante.* in *Dulces ante Omnia Musæ*, Part I., p.

Ib. Hal. “*Henry Hotspur*.” See *ib.* 163, *ante.*

4. *Philal*. A quite Byromic form of

XVI.

HOW DIFFERS HISTORY, PRITHEE, FROM
HISTORIANS?

[Cf. No. XII., and *Introductory Notes* to Nos. XII. and XV., *ante.*]

WHY, thus, dear *Miso*, deep in Hist'ry read:
You contradicted what Historians said ;
By Proof, then, plain as one can well desire,
Your Hist'ry differs from Historians, Squire.
When your great Hist'ry-Reader makes a Blunder.
Another time be wiser, and knock under !

XVII.

WHITWORTH'S VICARIOUS SUFFERINGS.

[Cf. No. XII., and *Introductory Notes* to Nos. XII. and XV., *ante.*
The special reference is to the lines in the latter effusion :

“On *Hal* thou next would'st fall, but he escapes,
And *Whitworth* suffers for poor *Jackanapes*.”]

WHITWORTH'S SOLILOQUY THEREUPON.

YES! I do suffer for the *Jackanapes*,—
For more than one, that lead me into *Scrapes* ;
In Paper-War they blunder, huff and vapour.
De'e'l take the *Wars*,—they'll ruin the *poor Paper*!

ANSWER THEREUNTO.

WHY for poor “Jackanapes” should *Whitworth* suffer,—
 For what belongs to “English *Hal*” the Huffer?
 A true Original the Printer shielded :
 He did not suffer ; but alas ! “poor *De’el*” did.

6. “*English HAL*” the Huffer. “English *Hal*” is a kind of loose zeuxis between huffed and vapoured” in the *Manchester Magazine*.
 John English and Henry Hotspur, who were among the writers that “blundered, 8. “*Poor De’el*” did. One of Whitworth’s own (Printer’s) devils.

XVIII.

BIRDS OF A FEATHER.

[See *Introductory Note* to No. XIV., *ante*, p. 311.]

ANSWER THEREUNTO.

“*DEAR me ! has Wit and Verse, at last, no more
 ’Gainst Rump and Commonwealth to say in Store ?
 ’Gainst Whig Opponents—*” ’Tis all one, you see,
 To say a Word ’gainst any of the Three,—
 Rump, Commonwealth or Whig.—Birds of a Feather,
 Proverb and Poet show, will flock together.

10

XIX.

OAK-APPLE DAY.

[The *Chester Courant* of June 9th, 1747, contained a paper, reprinted in *Manchester Vindicated*, pp. 229 seqq., reflecting on the absurdity of taking offence at the use of oak-boughs in celebration of the Twenty-ninth of May (Restoration-Day). This paper concludes as follows :

“ . . . If, at this present Time, the Remains of ancient Gladness have so begreened some old-fashioned Towns (whose neighbouring Oaks have

been hitherto untainted with Disaffection, or, at least, unaccused of it) that Travellers have compared them to perfect Woods, what an Appearance must one think the earlier Intimations of their new-found Happiness would branch out into?

"I had once the Perusal of an Anecdote, in which this travelling Comparison of a Town upon the 29th of May to a Wood was made the Subject of an Exercise; wherein the Strife, as I remember, was, who should comprise the Thought in six Lines, and give a Turn to the Hyperbole (or excess) of it the most hyperbolical. I copied out three of the Epigrams that struck my fancy most . . ."

My *MS.* annotator having placed the mark "*B*" at the foot of the last of the three Epigrams which follow, this may fairly be assumed to be Byrom's contribution to the competition, of which in truth it deserves the palm. I have not thought it necessary to reprint the others, although they are not bad. The second of the series suggests the fancy, no doubt derived from the incident of Birnam wood moving on Dunsinane, of a crowd of people decorated with boughs being undistinguishable from a forest.]

A Stranger, once, on Restoration-Day
Rode through a Town, and then asked where it lay?
When, having learned that he came through the Place,
He turned his Horse; and, pondering the Case:
"Come through it?" says he; "so I thought I should,
But missed my Road in riding through that Wood."

XX.

THE CONTRAST BETWEEN TWO EXECUTED LORDS.

[After some hesitation, I have determined not to include among the contributions to the *Chester Courant* attributable with a fair measure of probability to Byrom, the lines which appeared in the number of August 17th, 1747, and were reprinted in *Manchester Vindicated*, p. 262, commencing "Farewell, ye Wits of Whitworth's Magazine!" They are lively, and here and there well-turned, but too deficient in neatness and elegance to allow of their being assigned to Byrom, though they are

marked “B” by my *MS.* annotator. I have no hesitation in rejecting, although it is marked in the same way, the coarse mock-ballad of *Phillis and Thraso*, which appeared in the *Chester Courant* of July 21st, 1747, and was reprinted in *Manchester Vindicated*, pp. 251-2.

The lines which follow originally appeared in the *Chester Courant* of August 25th, 1747, and are reprinted p. 264 of *Manchester Vindicated*, where they are marked “B” in *MS.* in my copy. They were reprinted without alteration in the first collected edition of Byrom’s *Poems* (A). In a note to the reprint of these verses in B the execution of the two Lords is said “to have drawn from Dr. Johnson some verses, which commenced with the following couplet :

“Pity’d by gentle minds Kilmarnock died;
The brave, Balmerino, were on thy side.”

See Boswell’s *Life*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, i. 180, where the lines “On Lord Lovat’s Execution,” commencing with the above couplet, are quoted in full from the *Gentleman’s Magazine* for April, 1747. Boswell states that he had heard Johnson repeat these lines with great energy, but that he has no authority to say that they are Johnson’s own, and sees reason for doubting it. The editor of B also quotes, from the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, a tolerably pointless epitaph on Lord Balmerino :

“Here lies a Baron bold : take care,—
There may be treason in a tear ;
But yet my Arthur may find room,
Where greater folk don’t always come.”

William Boyd, fourth Earl of Kilmarnock, is graphically described by Horace Walpole as “a presbyterian, with four earldoms in him.” He was, however, extremely poor. This Earl of Kilmarnock, although his father had found no difficulty in raising his tenantry in defence of the existing Government, had virtually brought nobody but himself to the service of the Stuart cause in 1745. He was appointed Colonel of Hussars by the young Pretender before leaving Holyrood on October 31st, and was taken prisoner at Culloden, where, being brought into the hostile lines, he found his son Lord Boyd among the Government troops (for the pathetic incident which then occurred, see R. CHAMBERS, *u.s.*, 309 *note*). Whatever, therefore, may have been Kilmarnock’s conduct on the scaffold, the self-sacrificing ardour of his loyalty is

beyond cavil. Arthur Elphinstone, sixth Lord Balmerino, who had quite recently (in January, 1746) succeeded to the family title, had been an officer in the British service in the reign of Queen Anne; nor did he throw up his commission and join the insurgents until after the battle of Sheriffmuir in 1716. His father obtained a pardon for him in 1733. But in 1745 he was one of the first to join the standard of the Prince, who before leaving Holyrood appointed him to the command of a troop of Horse Guards. He was one of the persons of mark captured in the disaffected districts immediately after the catastrophe, and is said to have voluntarily surrendered, trusting to a recommendation to mercy by one of the Grants. The two Lords were brought up for trial, together with the Earl of Cromartie, on July 28th, 1746.

"Lord Kilmarnock and Lord Cronartie are both past forty, but look younger. Lord Kilmarnock is tall and slender, with an extreme fine person: his behaviour a most just mixture between dignity and submission; if in anything to be reprehended, a little affected, and his hair too exactly dressed for a man in his situation; but when I say this, it is not to find fault with him, but to show how little fault there was to be found . . . For Lord Balmerino, he is the most natural brave old fellow I ever saw; the highest intrepidity, even to indifference. At the bar he behaved like a soldier and a man; in the intervals of form, with carelessness and humour. He pressed extremely to have his wife, his pretty Peggy, with him in the Tower . . . When they were brought from the Tower in separate coaches, there was some dispute in which the axe must go—old Balmerino cried, 'Come, come, put it with me.' At the bar, he plays with his fingers upon the axe, while he talks to the gentleman-gaoler; and one day somebody coming up to listen, he took the blade, and held it like a fan between their faces. During the trial, a little boy was near him, but not tall enough to see; he made room for the child and placed him near himself.

"When the trial began, the two Earls (Cromartie and Kilmarnock) pleaded *guilty*; Balmerino *not guilty*, saying he could prove his not being at the taking of the castle of Carlisle, as was laid in the indictment . . . Then some witnesses were examined, whom afterwards the old hero shook cordially by the hand . . . Then the Lord High Steward asked the Peers severally, whether Lord Balmerino was guilty? All said, 'guilty upon honour,' and then adjourned, the prisoner having

begged pardon for giving them so much trouble. While the Lords were withdrawn, the Solicitor-General Murray (brother of the Pretender's minister) officiously and insolently went up to Lord Balmerino, and asked him, how he could give the Lords so much trouble, when his solicitor had informed him that his plea could be of no use to him? Balmerino asked the bystanders who this person was? and being told, he said, 'Oh, Mr. Murray! I am extremely glad to see you; I have been with several of your relations; the good lady, your mother, was of great use to us at Perth . . .' As he went away, he said, 'They call me Jacobite; I am no more a Jacobite than any that tried me; but if the Great Mogul had set up his standard, I should have followed it, for I could not starve . . .' Lord Balmerino said, that one of his reasons for pleading *not guilty* was, that so many ladies might not be disappointed of their show.

"On Wednesday they were again brought to Westminster-hall, to receive sentence; and being asked what they had to say, Lord Kilmarnock, with a very fine voice, read a very fine speech, confessing the extent of his crime, but offering his principles as some alleviation, having his eldest son (his second unluckily was with him) in the Duke's army, *fighting for the liberties of his country at Culloden, where his unhappy father was in arms to destroy them.* He insisted much on his tenderness to the English prisoners, which some deny . . . Lord Leicester went up to the Duke of Newcastle, and said, 'I never heard so great an orator as Lord Kilmarnock? if I was your Grace, I would pardon him, and make him *paymaster*' . . . [Finally] Lord Balmerino gave up his plea, and submitted, without any speech. The High Steward [Hardwicke] . . . then pronounced sentence." (*HORACE WALPOLE to Sir Horace Mann, Letters*, ed. Cunningham, ii. 38-42.) In his letter to George Montagu (*ib.*, 44) Walpole adds: "Poor brave old Balmerino retracted his plea, asked pardon, and desired the Lords to intercede for mercy. As he returned to the Tower, he stopped the coach at Charing-Cross to buy honey-blobs, as the Scotch call gooseberries. He says he is extremely afraid Lord Kilmarnock will not behave well."

Great exertions were made to save the lives of the Earls of Cromartie and Kilmarnock, which, however, in the case of the latter, were unsuccessful. A few days after the trial, Horace Walpole reports that "Old Balmerino keeps up his spirits to the same pitch of gaiety. In the cell

at Westminster he showed Lord Kilmarnock how he must lay his head ; bid him not wince, lest the stroke should cut his skull or his shoulders, and advised him to bite his lips." (*Ib.*, 44-5, where other traits of Balmerino's *sang-froid*, which was rapidly becoming legendary, are added ; see also pp. 49, 51.) One of his windows in the Tower was said to have been stopped because of his habit of talking to the audiences which assembled beneath it ; and it is tolerably clear that he took pleasure in the species of popularity which waits upon an attitude of defiance, while Lord Kilmarnock had to depend on the " pity of gentle minds"—and especially that of the *exaltée* Lady Townshend. The whole of Horace Walpole's commentary on this episode, though far from ill-natured, is unpleasant. He concludes (to SIR HORACE MANN, August 21st, 1746, *u.s.*, pp. 52-5) :

"I came from town . . . the day after the execution of the rebel Lords : I was not at it, but had two persons come to me directly who were at the next house to the scaffold : and I saw another who was upon it, so you may depend upon my accounts.

"Just before they came out of the Tower, Lord Balmerino drank a bumper to King James's health. As the clock struck ten, they came forth on foot, Lord Kilmarnock all in black, his hair unpowdered in a bag, supported by Forster, the great Presbyterian, and by Mr. Home, a young clergyman, his friend. Lord Balmerino followed, in a blue coat, turned up with red (his rebellious regimentals), a flannel waistcoat, and his shroud beneath ; their hearses following. They were conducted to a house near the scaffold : the room forward had benches for spectators, in the second Lord Kilmarnock was put, and in the third backwards Lord Balmerino : all the three chambers hung with black. Here they parted ! Balmerino embraced the other, and said, 'My lord, I wish I could suffer for both !'" [Walpole, after relating some further conversation between the condemned lords as to the order for the slaughter of the English prisoners supposed to have given in the Insurgent camp before Culloden, continues] : "He" (Kilmarnock) "remained an hour and a half in the house, and shed tears. At last he came to the scaffold, certainly much terrified, but with a resolution that prevented his behaving in the least meanly or unlike a gentleman. He took no notice of the crowd, only to desire that the baize might be lifted up from the rails, that the mob might see the spectacle. He stood and

prayed some time with Forster" [Foster?], "who wept over him, exhorted and encouraged him. He delivered a long speech to the Sheriff, and with a noble manliness stuck to the recantation he had made at the trial; declaring he wished that all who embarked in the same cause might meet the same fate. He then took off his bag, coat and waist-coat, with great composure, and after some trouble put on a napkin-cap, and then several times tried the block; the executioner, who was in white, with a white apron, out of tenderness concealing the axe behind himself. At last the Earl knelt down, with a visible unwillingness to depart, and after five minutes dropped his handkerchief, the signal, and his head was cut off at once, only hanging by a bit of skin, and was received in scarlet cloth by four of the undertaker's men kneeling, who wrapped it up and put it into the coffin with the body; orders having been given not to expose the heads, as used to be the custom.

"The scaffold was immediately new-strewed with saw-dust, the block new-covered, the executioner new-dressed, and a new axe brought. Then came old Balmerino, treading with the air of a general. As soon as he mounted the scaffold, he read the inscription on his coffin, as he did again afterwards; he then surveyed the spectators, who were in amazing numbers, even upon masts of ships in the river; and pulling out his spectacles read a treasonable speech, which he delivered to the Sheriff, and said, the young Pretender was so sweet a Prince, that flesh and blood could not resist following him; and lying down to try the block, he said, 'If I had a thousand lives, I would lay them all down here in the same cause.' He said, if he had not taken the Sacrament the day before, he would have knocked down Williamson, the lieutenant of the Tower, for his ill usage of him. He took the axe and felt it, and asked the headsman how many blows he had given Lord Kilmarnock; and gave him three guineas. Two clergymen, who attended him, coming up, he said, 'No, gentlemen, I believe you have already done me all the service you can.' Then he went to the corner of the scaffold, and called very loud for the warder, to give him his periwig, which he took off, and put on a night-cap of Scotch plaid, and then pulled off his coat and waistcoat, and lay down; but being told he was on the wrong side, vaulted round, and immediately gave the sign by tossing up his arm, as if he were giving the signal for battle. He received three blows, but the first certainly took away all sensation. He was not a quarter of

an hour on the scaffold; Lord Kilmarnock above half a one. Balmerino certainly died with the intrepidity of a hero, but with the insensibility of one too. As he walked from his prison to execution, seeing every window and top of house filled with spectators, he cried out, ‘Look, look, how they are all piled up like rotten oranges.’”

For further details see R. CHAMBERS, *u.s.*, pp. 451–8. The narrative of Sir Walter Scott in *Tales of my Grandfather*, chap. lxxxv. p. 453, edn 1865, corroborates Walpole’s account; as, at least so far as Lord Balmerino’s conduct is concerned, does the narrative by an eyewitness repeated by Doddridge, who would not himself “see the dreadful sight.” See C. Stanford, *Philip Doddridge, D.D.*, 1880, pp. 146–9.) He says that when Kilmarnock, on ascending the scaffold, beheld the spectacle around him, he whispered “to the friend on whose arm he leaned: ‘Home, this is terrible!’” No sign of indecent timidity, however, affected his behaviour. See also Dr. Doran’s *London in the Jacobite Times*, ii. 190–206; and the more summary relation in Lord Stanhope’s *History* (5th edition), iii. 319–20.

I am constrained to notice that, while in l. 2 both A and B agree to the accentuation “Balmérino,” B reads l. 48: “And Balmerino call a valiant Martyr,” *Quis judicabat?*]

I.

A S Crowds attended when the fatal Blow
Took off KILMARNOCK and BALMERINO,
Men were surpris’d that Warriors on a Side
Should in the common Field of Death divide.
By the same Path descending to the Grave,
In the same Cause so widely to behave!
What turns of Anger, Pity, Censure, Praise,
Did such a Contrast of Deportment raise!

II.

ONE, struck with Horror at Rebellion’s Crime,
Seeks by Repentance to redeem the Time;

Begs of offended Majesty the Grace,
 That future Conduct may the past efface ;
 Would live, but only till his Blood be spilt
 In such a Cause as may atone for guilt ;
 Would die, if such shall be his Sovereign's Doom ;
 And, praying for his Race, approach the Tomb.

III.

Approach he must, and be the first to bleed ;
 The Scene beheld, 'tis terrible indeed !—
 The sable Scaffold, Coffin, Axe, and Block,
 And circling Eyes on him concenter'd, shock, 20
 Yet not confound. Instructed to prepare,
 He meets with Death too serious to dare ;
 Receives, his Crime avow'd, and Mercy clos'd,
 Th' impending Stroke, reluctantly compos'd.

IV.

The OTHER, firm and steady in the Cause
 Of injur'd Monarchs and of ancient Laws,
 By change of Conduct never stain'd his Fame,—
 Child, Youth, and Man, his Principles the same.
 How greatly generous his last Adieu,
 That from his Friend one more Confession drew ! 30
 He clears his Prince's Honour and his own,
 And only sorrows not to die alone.

V.

"Pledge me," he cries, "one Step to Heav'n, my Friends!"
 And, in his wonted Dress, thereon ascends ;

28. *His Principles the same.* This is probably correct, and not contradicted by Balmerino's acceptance in 1733 of a pardon, which (if HORACE WALPOLE, *u.s.*,

p. 46, is to be trusted) "was only granted him to engage his brother's vote at the election of Scotch peers."

Scorning, when past through Life with Conscience clear,
In Death to play the Hypocrite, and fear.
His Head adornèd with the *Scotish Plaid*,
His Heart confiding upon God for Aid,
He, as a Guest, invites his welcome Fate,
Gallant, Intrepid, Fearless, and Sedate.

40

VI.

What shall we say?—If both of them were bad,
The one was *Coward*, and the other *Mad*.
If one was wrong, the other in the Right,
The which,—'tis plain to ev'y Party-Wight.
If each obey'd the Dictates of his Breast,
And of true Worth Sincerity be Test;
Then, to KILMARNOCK'S Penitence give Quarter,
And write BALMERINO a valiant Martyr.

40 Fearless, intrepid, gallant,—B.

48 And Balmerino call.—B.

37. *His Head adornèd with the SCOTISH Plaid.* See *Introductory Note*. According to the song *The Manchester Rebels* (reprinted in *Manchester Vindicated*, p. 155, from the *Chester Courant* of February 24th, 1747), this garb for some time after the Rebellion continued to be assumed for purposes of “demonstration :”

“Here struts the Plaid Waistcoat, their
sails the Plaid Gown.”

44. *The which.* Which of them.

48. Write BALMERINO a valiant Martyr. As such he appears long to have continued to be regarded. “Robert Burns, writing from Dumfries in 1794 to Mr. James Johnson, says, ‘I have got a highland dirk for which I have a great veneration as it once was the dirk of Lord Balmerino.’” (*Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xvii., Art. ELPHINSTONE, ARTHUR, *sixth Lord Balmerino*.)

XXI.

A GENUINE DIALOGUE BETWEEN A GENTLEWOMAN
 AT DERBY AND HER MAID JENNY, IN THE
 BEGINNING OF DECEMBER, 1745.

[These lines are printed in *Manchester Vindicated*, p. 283, from the *Chester Courant*, November 10th, 1747, where they had appeared with the following prefatory sentence: "The following lines were sent us in Spring was Twelve-Months, but being mislaid, have not made their Appearance till now;" and marked "B" in *MS.* in my copy. The piece was reprinted in both A and B immediately after the Dialogues in the Lancashire Dialect, among which it is, of course, not to be included. It seems to have been successful when first published; for Byrom writes to his wife on March 17th, 1748: "If you have any copies of Madam and her Maid, send two or three; they will divert some few of my acquaintance; and one may bear the criticisms of the rest; they have laid the Ode upon a somebody's birthday to my door" (*Remains*, ii. 424).]

The Jacobitism imputed to the ladies of Manchester forms a leading topic in the contention between the wits of the *Manchester Magazine* and those of the *Chester Courant* (see *Manchester Vindicated*, pp. 223 *et seqq.*). In October, 1747, it was declared that "the Assembly still triumphs over us with its *rebellious Dames* (*ib.*, p. 272). As to the political sentiments of Miss Elizabeth (Beppy) Byrom, at all events, there can be no doubt (see her *Journal*, already cited, which includes an account of the young Pretender's sojourn at Manchester in the last days of November, 1745, *Remains*, ii. 385 *seqq.*); nor of her enthusiasm for the person of Prince Charles. In her opinion of his appearance she is borne out by the testimony of her father, who writes on March 1st, 1746: "It was easy enough for friend or foe that was curious enough to see the Prince, to have an opportunity; he rode through the streets the day after his coming; and, to do justice to his person, whatever his pretensions may be, he makes a very graceful and amiable appearance; he is fair-complexioned, well-shaped, has a sensible and comely aspect." (See *ib.*, p. 412. Byrom in this passage goes on to refer to a scandal,

as groundless as the shameful rumour which had impugned the genuineness of the birth of the Prince's father, but invented, according to Byrom, in order “to account for the beauty of the man beyond that of his father, . . . but the ladies, smitten with the charms of the young gentleman, say that he takes after his mother.”) In point of fact, the Old Chevalier himself was, in his earlier days at all events, pleasing in features; see the iconography in the Introduction to the Marquise Campana de Cavelli's *Les derniers Stuarts à St. Germain-en Laye* (1871). As for the Young Chevalier, Byrom's favourable impressions are corroborated by those of other eye-witnesses; see for instance Home's description of the Prince on the occasion of his entry into Edinburgh, cited by R. Chambers, *History of the Rebellion of 1745–6*, 7th edⁿ, p. 100. It is well known how in Charles Edward's later days intemperance went far to destroy both the personal charm and the mental powers which in his youth he indisputably possessed. (See A. de Reumont's admirable monograph on *The Countess of Albany, passim*.)

Part of the Prince's army reached Derby at 11 a.m. on December the 4th, 1745, and the main body continued to enter the town in small detachments during the latter part of the day, the Prince himself arriving on foot in the evening, and taking up his quarters in the house of the Earl of Exeter. During the day the bells were rung, and bonfires lighted, and at night there was an illumination, probably not altogether voluntary. At a Council held on the 5th the Prince, who like the main body of the soldiers of his army, was eager to continue his march upon London, was obliged to yield to the unanimous opinion of Lord George Murray and the other members of the Council; and the retreat northwards began early on the 6th. (R. CHAMBERS, *u.s.*, 189 *seqq.*)

I suppose it to be a pure accident that the name here given to the Prince's humble admirer is that borne by Miss Jenny Cameron, who witnessed the unfurling of his standard in Glenfinnin in August, 1745, and who afterwards became the subject of much unfounded gossip (*ib.*, 47, 251 note).]

Mrs. FENNY, come here: I'm told that you have been
To see this Man.

Jen. What Man?

Mrs. Why, you have seen
The young *Pretender*, Hussy, at his Lodging.
Is it not so?—Come, tell me without dodging!

Jen. Why, really, Madam, I was passing by,
Thinking no harm, not in the least, not I ;
And somebody or other that I met—

Mrs. What somebody?

Jen. Indeed now, I forget ;—
Said what a handsome Man he was ; and so,
Begging your Pardon, Madam, I did go ; 10
But had no ill Intention in the Thing.
A Cat may look, as Folks say, at a KING.

Mrs. “King” do you call him, ye rebellious Slut?

Jen. I did not call him so, good Madam, but—

Mrs. But me no butting ; not another Day
Shall any Rebel in my Service stay ;
I owe you Twenty Shillings,—there’s a Guinea ;
Pack up, and go about your Business, *Jenny*!
Matters are come indeed to a fine Pass ! 20
The next Thing, I suppose, you’ll go to Mass.

Jen. “To Mass?” What Road? For I don’t know the Place,
Nor could I tell which Way to turn my Face.

Mrs. “Turn?” You’ll turn *Papist*, and believe Black’s White.

Jen. Why, bless me, Madam, I han’t lost my Sight!

Mrs. And then the Priest will bid you cut my Throat.

Jen. Dear loving Mistress ; how you talk by Rote !
I would not hurt a Hair of your dear Head,
Were all the Priests in Mass to kill me dead ;
And,—I don't say it with Design to brag,—
Since I've been with you, you han't lost a Rag. 30
I "cut your Throat" because I saw the P——e,
And never thought of "Black" or "White" e'er since!

Mrs. Good ! This is you that did not call him K——g ;
And is not P——e, ye Minx, the self-same Thing ?

Jen. You are so hasty, Madam, with your Snarls !
Would you have me call the Gentleman plain Ch——s ?

31. *The P——e.* Though in a spoken Dialogue there is not much sense in such an aposiopesis, I have retained the quaint veiled method of printing the forbidden names which both A and B have taken over from the text of 1747.

Miss Beppy Byrom at the beginning of her *Diary*, in September, 1745, notes "great talk of the Pretender coming." When, in November, the "rebels" have reached Lancaster, their leader is cautiously termed "the P.;" when they have reached Preston, he becomes "P. C.;" on November 29th, "the King" is proclaimed at Manchester; and on the 30th "an officer called on us to go see the Prince." (See the charming description of the sight, *Remains*, ii. 393. At the Old Church on the same day Mr. Shrigley, who read prayers, "prayed for the King and the Prince of Wales, and named no names.") On Sunday, December 1st, "although Sunday, the drums beat up for his M. K. J. (*ib.*, 396). Byrom, writing to Vigor on March 1st, 1746, mentions "the Prince (for so he has been called in all places when present or near it, but, at a proper distance, Pretender)" (*ib.*, 411-2).

To complete this comparison of designations, Whitworth's *Manchester Magazine* of November 20th, 1746, asserts that "many a pretty girl has been taught to read *God bless P——C——* upon her Pin-cushion, before she can say her Catechism" (*Manchester Vindicated*, p. 21), and the same journal, of December 18th of the same year, states that "several houses have been lately employ'd to furnish Garters, Watch-strings, &c., with this elegant Motto : '*God preserve P. C., and down with the Rump!*' A Man must be blind sure, that cannot see that 'P. C.' can only signify the Protestant *Church*, and that 'Down with the Rump' has no Meaning at all" (*ib.*, p. 94). Cf. *ib.*, p. 155, from the *Chester Courant* the "New Song" *The Manchester Rebels*, which refers to

—“Young Rebel Imps,—little impudent things,

With ‘*God bless P. C.*’ on their Pin-cushion Strings.”

32. “*Black*” or “*White*.” I suppose there is no secondary reference here to the colour of the cockades.

Mrs. "P—— Ch——" again! Speak out your Treason Tales:
"His R——l H——s Ch——s the P—— of W——s!"

Jen. Oh, Madam! You say more of him than me;
For I said nothing of his Pedigree.

40

Mrs. "Pedigree!" Fool! What would the Wench be at?
What Pedigree has any Bastard Brat?

Jen. Nay, I'm no Harold; be he what he will,
He is a charming Man to look at still.
When I was got in there, amongst the Throng,
His R——l H——s——

Mrs. Hussy, hold your Tongue!

Jen. You call'd him so yourself but just e'en now.

Mrs. Yes, so I did; but then, the Manner how?

Jen. And will you turn a Servant out o' Doors,
Because her Manners ben't so fine as yours?

50

Mrs. *Jenny!* I say, you had no Business neither
To see the *Creature*, or go near him either.

Jen. "Creature?" Nay, Pardon, Madam, he's no Creature.
But a sweet comely Christian, ev'ry Feature.

Mrs. "No *Creature!*" Would you worship him, you Dunce?

Jen. I would you were to see his Worship once!

Mrs. How can the Girl cross Questions like a Fool!
Or think that I should go and see the Tool!

42. *What Pedigree has any Bastard Brat?* See Introductory Note.

44. *A charming Man to look at still.* See Introductory Note.

43. *No Harold.* An excellent mala-prop for "no Herald."

58. *The Tool.* Of the priests, I suppose.

Jenny! tho' you have done so much amiss,
I pity such an Ignorance as this. 60
If you'll go mind your Work as heretofore,
And keep at home, I'll pass the Matter o'er.

Fen. Ah, Madam! you're so good! Let me but speak
My simple Mind, or else my Heart will break!
I've such a strange foreboding in my Heart:
If you but saw him once, we should not part:
Do see him once! What harm is there in seeing?
If after that there be not an agreeing,
Then call me twenty Rebel Sluts: if you,
When you have seen him, ben't a Rebel too.

Now, whether *Jenny* did persuade her Dame,
Is not, as yet, betrumpeted by Fame:
Sometimes there happen to be secret Views,
That are not put into the public News:
But, by Report, that private Rumour gives,
She'll never part with *Jenny* while she lives.

XXII.

VERSES SPOKEN EXTEMPORE BY A SOLDIER THE DAY
AFTER HE RECEIVED A FLANNEN WAISTCOAT,
THROUGH THE BOUNTY OF THE QUAKERS.

[I print the following verses with some hesitation. They are re-published from the *Chester Courant* in the *Chester Miscellany*, p. 58. Their manner is quite Byromic; but the *animus* is rather marked for one who was "very desirous not to give offence to the Quakers or anybody." (*Remains*, ii. 169.) Still, Byrom had been exercised in his

time by members of the Society, and may have not felt averse to a jest at their expense. The Epigram, whoever was its author, was evidently suggested by the contribution of "ten thousand woollen waistcoats" made by the Quakers about October, 1745, "to keep warm" the Guards and other soldiery encamped at Finchley previously to the march North. (Cf. Dr. Doran's *London in the Jacobite Times*, 1877, ii. 120.)

Flannen is a spelling possibly suggested by the quasi-analogy of *woollen*.]

THIS friendly Waistcoat keeps my Body Warm ;
 Intrepid now I march, and fear no Harm.
 Beyond a Coat of Mail, a sure Defender ;
 Proof against Pope, the Devil, and Pretender !
 The Highland Plaid of no such Pow'r can boast ;
 Arm'd thus, I'll plunge the foremost in their Host,
 Exert my utmost Art, my utmost Might,
 And fight for those whose Creed forbids to fight.

3. *Beyond.* It is, beyond, or more than.

5. *The Highland Plaid.* As to this Highland garb, and its adoption by those who sympathised with the Pretender, cf. stanzas v. and vi. of *The Manchester Rebels, a New Song, to the Tune of the Abbot of Canterbury*, reprinted from the *Chester Courant* of Tuesday, February 24th, 1747, in *Manchester Vindicated*, pp. 155-6 :

"And as for their Garb,—it is not of that Hue

Which your common Fiends wear, but
 Red, Yellow and Blue,
 Work'd up with such Art, as to drive
 us all mad ;
 In short, my good Friends, 'tis an arrant Scotch-Plaid.
 But what's worst of all, and what
 chiefly perplexes
 Us here is, in Truth, we have Friends
 of both Sexes.
 Here struts the Plaid Waistcoat ; there
 sails the Plaid Gown :
 Such Fashions infernal sure never were
 known."

XXIII.

ONE THING WANTING.

[The following lines, reprinted from the *Chester Courant* in the *Chester Miscellany*, p. 272, are conceivably by Byrom ; but I think the

probability lies quite the other way. The versification is rather in his manner; but the concluding direct affront to a statesman of the day is not at all in his style. P——m is of course Henry Pelham, who after the fall of Granville (Carteret) in 1744 stood at the head of the coalition or so-called "Broad-bottom" ministry, to which fell the twofold task of suppressing the Jacobite Insurrection and of carrying through the French War. This administration, formed on the principle of conciliation, was carried on by Pelham and his brother the Duke of Newcastle in such a way as to silence all effective opposition. Although Granville had been overthrown mainly because of his "Hanoverian" policy, the Pelhams continued to pursue his system, and in 1745 spent enormous sums on foreign subsidies. But, while during Granville's conduct of affairs we had paid Hanoverian and Hessian mercenaries, after his dismissal these were taken into Austrian pay, our subsidy to the Austrian government being raised in proportion. This seems to be the meaning of l. 10. In 1746, the direct process was again resorted to. (See Lord Stanhope's *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht*, ch. xxvi.)]

WHEN, once, a King enquir'd (no Matter who),
How many Requisites in War would do,
The Monarch thought the Statesman had been funny,
Who answer'd: "Three, Sir: Money, Money, Money."
But right he answer'd, as Affairs went *then*,
If Money would procure Allies and Men,
But modern Ministers keep up the Tune
And "Money, Money, Money!" cries each One.
But here the Diff'rence is: these modern Great
Buy only Promises whene'er they treat.
Tho' Money once suffic'd, we must allow,
Some further Requisite is wanting now,
Some higher Quality, to play our Part.—
Say, P——m, is it *Honesty*, or *Art*?

AN EPISTLE TO A FRIEND,

OCCASIONED BY A SERMON INTITLED "THE FALSE CLAIMS TO MARTYRDOM CONSIDER'D; A SERMON PREACH'D AT ST. ANNE'S CHURCH, MANCHESTER, NOVEMBER 2nd, 1746, BEING THE SUNDAY AFTER ALL SAINTS' DAY, BY BENJ. NICHOLS, M.A., ASSISTANT CURATE OF THE SAID CHURCH, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF UXBRIDGE."

[This *Epistle* is here reproduced from the copy in small quarto, printed in 1747 at London, for M. Cooper, at the Globe in Paternoster Row," with the following motto, probably composed by the author of the *Epistle* itself:

"Out of the Church, *to fix our English Doom,*
 There's no Salvation, *say some Priests of Rome:*
 Out of the State, *some English Priests, as mad,*
Affirm, there's no Salvation to be had.
The same poor Bigotry, on either Side,
Would make Salvation float upon the Tide;
Alike the Smithfield and the Tyburn Flam;
For neither Pope nor Parliament can Damn."

There cannot be much doubt but that the sentiments and conduct of the bulk of the Manchester clergy, and more especially of the Fellows of the Collegiate Church, helped to keep up the disaffection for which, about the time of the Insurrection of 1745 and in the period immediately following, the good town became notorious. This is virtually avowed in the organ of the Manchester Jacobite clique, the *Chester Courant*, under the date of November 10th, 1747; but the writer sarcastically hastens to disclaim any intention of thereby casting "the least Reflection upon our worthy Dissenting Ministers and their Associates in Loyalty, the Rector and Curates of St. A——'s, who are totally free from every Article of Guilt in the following charge." (See *Manchester Vindicated*, p. 279.)

Here we perceive the germ of the great Byrom-Owen Controversy. In October, 1745, some little time after the news had come of

the defeat of Sir John Cope at Preston Pans, when "everybody" was "in hiding for fear of the rebels," and "two regiments" had "gone through the town," Miss Beppy Byrom notes in her *Journal*: "Mr. Hoole, Mr. Nichols, Mr. Lewthwaite preached against rebellion; my papa and uncle Houghton wrote after the last" (*i.e.* took him down in shorthand), "and he left off before he had half done; but they came again the Sunday after and wrote, but he had made his sermon over again." Mr. Hoole, who held non-juring opinions (see a list of his writings in Byrom's Library, *Catalogue*, p. 112), died six weeks afterwards; and some of the Jacobite rebel officers joined in his funeral service (Axon's *Annals of Manchester*, p. 85). In his place the Bishop of Chester appointed Mr. Abel Ward, Prebendary of Chester and late fellow of Queen's, Cambridge, who, it may be assumed, was a Whig. Mr. Benjamin Nichols, M.A., who was also Chaplain to the Earl of Uxbridge, was one of the curates at St. Anne's; he is said already in 1745 to have preached a sermon on the Rebellion which greatly edified the Whigs. He afterwards became Rector of Eccles. His sermon entitled *The False Claims to Martyrdom consider'd* is preserved in Byrom's Library, together with an Assize sermon preached at Lancaster in 1747, and a third sermon published in 1753 (see *Catalogue*, p. 160).

In the Preface to the published text of *The False Claims &c.*, the author says that this discourse was not at first intended for the press. "But such Displeasure has been shewn, and so much Clamour raised against it, that" it has been made public "in order to vindicate it from the many false Aspersions, and gross Misrepresentations, and his Reputation from the indecent Reflections which with great Freedom have been cast upon both. . . . No one that would not encourage the Revival of the late Rebellion, can think the Subject unseasonable, especially where outward Reverence is publicly shewn to the Remains of the deluded Sufferers, where the Distinction of Characters is so much confounded, and the Honour of Martyrdom vainly ascribed to them."

The allusion, which was the noticeable feature of the sermon and the main cause of the offence given by it, is to the "Manchester Martyrs" of the '45. The officers of the "Manchester Regiment" who suffered death on Kennington Common, July 30th, 1746, were Colonel Francis Townley, Captains Thomas Theodorus Deacon, James Dawson, John

Beswick, George Fletcher, Andrew Blood, and David Morgan, Lieutenant Thomas Chadwick and Adjutant Thomas Syddall. "After the execution the heads of Captain Deacon, Adjutant Syddall, and Lieutenant Chadwick were brought down to Manchester and stuck upon the Exchange, August 3rd. Dr. Deacon was the first to gaze upon the remains of his son, and, though bowed with age and adversity, he subdued his parental sorrow so far as to salute the ghastly head, and to express his rejoicing that he had possessed a son who could firmly suffer martyrdom in the Stuart cause." (Cf. *ante*, pp. 301-2.) "On the other hand they were scoffed at as 'the gods spiked upon the Exchange' and as 'Tyburn gods.'" (AXON, p. 86.) It may be added, in illustration of the height which "public feeling" at Manchester had reached three weeks or thereabouts before the sermon on *The False Martyrdom* was preached in St. Anne's Church, that when "the national thanksgiving for the suppression of the Rebellion was celebrated on October 9th, the mob took vengeance upon the houses of Deacon and Syddall because the unhappy father and the hapless widow had not illuminated their windows in token of rejoicing." (*Ib.*)

In his sermon the Curate of St. Anne's must be said to have gone out of his way not only to recall, but to moralise, these unhappy proceedings. "It has always," he says (p. 24), "been the Vanity of Popery to boast of an Honour which they" (the persons included in the Martyrologies of the Church of Rome) "seldom merited; not that the deluded among Protestants have always been free from these false claims. Our late Executions for Rebellion have indeed, by some of the warm Friends of the iniquitous Scheme, been honoured in this Light. Had the Abuses of Popery got Footing amongst us again, some of those poor Wretches would have made a very dignified Improvement and Addition to the Romish List" . . . And again (p. 25): "If the Religion of these Days can afford us no better Martyrs, how are we farther off from the primitive Times! These, it is true, suffered;—but how? As Malefactors, not as Martyrs: They suffered, but for what? Not for Religion, nor Righteousness; but for the wicked Consequences of a prejudiced Attachment to an erroneous Principle, which has been long exploded . . . Fewer Words might have been sufficient . . . were it not necessary for every Christian Preacher to guard the unwary against the Delusions of the Advocates of Rebellion, who perhaps were

the first Authors of their fatal Mistakes, and now, by way of Reparation of the Injury, are loading them with vain Honours . . . But let us not suffer ourselves to be so imposed upon ; sorry we may be for the untimely End of our Fellow-Creatures; but to honour them with the Title of Martyrdom for public Offences is to disgrace the Character, and to blaspheme our Religion."

Byrom's quotations from the *Sermon* are printed in the notes to the *Epistle*, with the letters BYR., to distinguish them from the few notes added by the present Editor. The *Epistle to a Friend*, as will be seen, had not the effect of casting oil upon the troubled waters. A reference, the reverse of considerate, contained in it (ll. 335 seqq.) to a Non-Conformist Minister who had a few weeks before the delivery of the sermon on *The False Claims* given utterance to his own sentiments on the Rebellion and its consequences, led to a further developement of the controversy. Byrom's *Epistle* found much favour with those who concurred in its sentiments. He writes to his wife, May 7th, 1748: "I suppose Mr. Newton is gone down ; he promised to leave two or three *Epistles to a Friend* at Alington's ; but I have heard nothing of them ; if more come, I must desire them from thee." (*Remains*, ii. 440.)]

DEAR SIR,—I'm really sorry, that our Friend
So far th' ungrateful Subject should extend.
No Stranger He to Nature's tender Ties :
And fewer Words, he tells us, might suffice,
But that the Character of Martyrdom
Had been disgrac'd—poor Panic Dread ! by whom ?

This groundless Fancy swimming in his Head,
He neither spares the Living nor the Dead.

2. *Th'ungrateful Subject.* "Preface, pp. v. vi. That the Subject should prove very ungrateful and affecting to the Relations and Friends of the Unfortunate, is natural to imagine. The Author is not a Stranger to the tender Affections of human Nature, to expect otherwise ; but is this a reasonable Ground for their Resentment to the Preacher, who guarded against

all particular Applications ? And what he did, he thought his Obligation to the Public required of him."—BYR.

4. *And fewer Words.* "Pp. 26, 27. Fewer Words might have been sufficient ; but to honour them with the Title of Martyrdom for public Offences, is to disgrace the Character, and to blaspheme our Religion."—BYR.

Careless of Accuracy, Place, or Time,
He blackens All,—Life, Principle, or Crime ;
Pursues th' Unfortunate beyond the Grave,
With low-plac'd Hints of Saving,—not to save.
Heav'n's lowest Place he argues to forbid,
Unless they died——not as he knew they did.
When he bestow'd this generous Adieu,
Their last and dying Sentiments he knew ;
And making such as he embrac'd the Test
Of Happiness, all Hope of being blest,
By a new Priestly Pow'r to loose and bind,
To Penitence impossible confin'd.
Happy for them if so and so they died !
This was to mock Repentance, and deride.
May he repent——or whither must we trace
The saving *Ifs* that never could take Place ?

What Obligation to the Public draws
His forward Zeal beyond the public Laws ?
Ev'n rigid Laws, when they condemn, condole,
And pray to God for Mercy on the Soul.
Does then the Gospel, Sir, in his Account,
Or does the Saviour's Sermon on the Mount,
The Gospel's Gospel, does the chosen Bliss
Lead him to more Severity than this ?

9. Careless of Accuracy. "Pref., p. iii.
It is proper to acquaint the Reader, in
Excuse for the Imperfections of this Dis-
course, that the Author never intended it
for the Press; for as it was composed for
a popular Audience, and fell in with the
ordinary Course of Preaching, he did not
attend so much to the Accuracy of Com-
position."—BYR.

12. *With low-plac'd Hints.* "P. 26.
Certainly, to suffer under the Demerit of
publick Crimes, can never intitle the
Criminal to the Honour of so exalted a

Character. Happy for them, if they have died Penitents; happy for them, if a sincere Repentance, and their Sufferings intitling them to the Merit of their Saviour, have recommended them to the lowest Place in the Kingdom of Heaven."—BYR.

31. *The chosen Bliss.* Alluding to the Text which the Preacher chose, *Matth. vi. 10.* "Blessed are they which are persecuted for Righteousness sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven."—BYR.

The Gospel's Gospel. See the section in Tholuck's *Commentary on the Sermon in*

O Divine Sermon ! little understood,
If they who preach thee, not content with Blood,
Justly perhaps, perhaps ***** shed,
(Do Thou determine, Judge of Quick and Dead !)
By this devoted Earth's all transient Scene
Measure the Glories of eternal Reign ;
Adjust its martyr'd Ranks, and seem to fear,
Lest Heav'n should err—and *Jacobites* be there !

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I am surpris'd, that one of his good Sense
Should write so harshly on a mere Pretence ;
Or think of banishing a Soul from Heav'n,
Because a Name had not been rightly giv'n.
Say, that the Living misapply the Word,—
To judge the Dead is shockingly absurd.
Martyr, 'tis granted, has a sacred Use ;
And yet, sometimes, a Meaning more diffuse.
Preachers don't scruple (I could name the Page)
To talk of Martyrs to tyrannic Rage,
On dignified Improvements to insist,
And make Additions—to no *Romish* List.
What then ? Must ev'ry Papist needs expel
The whole mistaken Calendar to Hell ?
Or such unchristian Fury, if they did,

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the Mount (tr. by R. L. Brown in Clarke's *Foreign Theological Library*, vol. vii., 1860) on its Relation to the Evangelical Doctrine of Salvation, for a discussion of the question, whether the Sermon is an amplification of the Mosaic Law, or contains in it the evangelical doctrine of Salvation.

35. *Perhaps ***** shed. I.e.*, perhaps unjustly shed.

48. *And yet sometimes a Meaning more diffuse.* Or more precise. Even the ludicrous penny-a-liner's phrase "a martyr to

the bottle" is at the most to be condemned as an ellipsis.

In l. 31 of his poem *On the Conversion of St. Paul* (*infra*, vol. ii.), Byron makes "A destin'd Martyr to his Jewish Zeal Of Christian Faith confess the sacred Seal."

51. *On dignified Improvements.* "P. 24. Had the Abuses of Popery got Footing amongst us again, some of those poor Wretches would have made a very dignified Improvement and Addition to the *Romish* List."—BYR.

Should not a preaching Protestant forbid ?
 Is he oblig'd to imitate the worst
 That *Rome* can practise, and pronounce Men curst ?
 Can diff'rent Politics, or diff'rent Faith,
 Afford a Plea for such enormous Wrath ?

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No ; but against an Inference so hard
 He did, it seems, particularly guard.
 Pray, when his warm Invectives he dispens'd,
 What Applications did he guard against,
 Lest Parent, Child, or Widow's Heart should ache,
 Such as no Mortal could forbear to make.
 What Ground for griev'd Relations to resent ?
 Why understood they what the Preacher meant ?
 Why knew they not, that touching his Repute
 Was the true Meaning of——*to persecute*?
 That gave him Right to comment on the Text,
 And claim the great Beatitude annexed.

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Ye Friends, who wish'd his Reputation safe,
 Say, why advise him to this printed Chafe ?

56-7. *The worst that Rome can practice.* Her excommunications.

62. *He did.* See Reference to l. 2.
—BYR.

69. *Touching his Repute.* “P. 20. Not that true and sincere Christians must expect an entire Exemption from lesser Instances of this Evil in common Life, such as Revilings, Falsehoods, Defamation, and injurious Treatment, which their steady Attachment to Religion and Conscience will expose them to from the Malice of bad Men, who hate their Virtues and Character, because a living Reproach to their own unchristian Conversation. But

such kind of Persecutions may be patiently borne, while we are secured from the miseries of public ones.”—BYR.

72. *The great Beatitude annexed.* See Byrom's note to l. 31, ante.

73. *Ye Friends.* “Pref., pp. iii. iv. But such Displeasure has been shewn, and so much Clamour has been raised against it, that in order to vindicate it from the many false Aspersions and gross Misrepresentations, and his Reputation as a Clergyman from the indecent Reflections, which with great Freedom have been cast upon both, he submitted to the Advice of his Friends to publish it.”—BYR.

If the Resentments of the meekest Men
Rise against those, according to his Pen,
Who through inhuman Prejudice divest
Of ev'ry tender Sentiment the Breast :
Why renew theirs, who felt in his Harangue
Of ev'ry height'ning Epithet the Pang ? 80
Who heard the righteous Oratory stretch
To "Rebel"—"Traitor"—"Malefactor"—"Wretch,"—
To Phrases only accurate to stain
Dead Memory, and give the Living Pain ?
Sure tender Sentiments forbid the Gust
Of "Executions"—"necessary"—"just"—
Yea, even "merciful"—for such, it seems,
Ours, as he calls them, the good Preacher deems.

Had one, who, nicely sensible of Fame,
Counts many Deaths a Trifle to his Name, 90
Whom the most natural Resentments grate,
With gentler Mention touch'd unhappy Fate ;
Had that Regard, which he would seem to own,
To Bosoms big with recent Griefs been shwon ;

75. *If the Resentments.* "P. 13. The Resentments of the meekest Men must be raised against those, who, to become the Authors and Ministers of such Evils, must divest themselves of every tender Sentiment, every Thing lovely belonging to Man, and thereby fix a prejudicial Blemish and Reproach upon Humanity itself."—BYR.

82. *To "Rebel," "Traitor," "Malefactor," "Wretch."* "P. 25. As Rebels and Traitors to their King and Country. P. 26. As Malefactors, not as Martyrs; those poor Wretches."—BYR.

84-5. *The Gust*

OF EXECUTIONS.

A feeling of satisfaction in executions. Cf. POPE, *Essay on Man*, i. 116-117 :
"Destroy all creatures for thy sport or gust,

Vet ery, if Man's unhappy, God's unjust."
The French phrase "*le goût de la chasse*" is familiar.

86. *Of Executions.* "P. 21. Tho'the Procedure of public Justice against those who were engaged in the late Rebellion has been carried on in the most legal and merciful Manner; yet these necessary Executions (for Justice to the Public, and the Safety of the Government required them) have been branded with opprobrious Names of Cruelty and Persecution."—BYR.

91. *To his Name.* To his personal reputation.

92. *Whom the most natural Resentments grate.* Upon whom the most ordinary sentiments of humanity grate; who cannot make allowance for these sentiments.

On Dead, on Living, had he thrown less Dirt :
Nor Truth, nor Christian Charity, were hurt ;
Nor would Intention's Honesty be spoil'd,
Though even Enemies were less revil'd.

But amongst them, who never wish'd him harm,
In his own Flock, to be so desp'rate warm ;
In his own Flock, the Objects of his Love,
Where once he aim'd to please and to improve ;
Nothing for native Pity to forbear,
To dwell relentless on the Theme severe,—
Alas ! how Zeal of Knowlege gets the start,
When once the Head is warmer than the Heart !
Then is perceiv'd the Popery of those
Who are, in Tongue, the keenest of its Foes ;
Rail at Ambition, Bigotry, and *Rome*,
And hate abroad what they caress at home.

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Their Congregations legally are teaz'd,
And all is Clamour, if they are not pleas'd.
False, gross, indecent, ev'ry Thing they say;
Each Word iniquitous, but——print away!
Their Lessons, thus advisedly imprest,

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96. *Nor Truth.* "Pref., p. iv.
Whether he has advanced any thing contrary to Truth or Christian Charity, the impartial Reader may judge. The Honesty of his Intention is a Justification to himself."—*BYR.*

they have through a Succession of Ages stained and scandalized the Religion of Christ, by making it a Cloak to the iniquitous Views of their Tyranny and Ambition."—BYR.

102. *Where once he aim'd.* "Pref., p. vi.
We hope they will see Things in their true
Light, and be brought again to hear their
Teachers with more Pleasure and Im-
provement."—BYR.

112. *And all is Clamour.* "Pref., p. iii. So much Clamour has been rais'd against it, that in order to vindicate it from the many false Aspersions and gross Misrepresentations, and his Reputation as a Clergyman from the indecent Reflections, which with great Freedom have been cast upon both."—BYR.

109. *Rail at Ambition.* "P. 18. The bigotted Priesthood of the Church of Rome affords notorious Instances of this Practice;

Must lay the People's Prejudice to Rest :
Their Passions cool, they will be work'd upon,
To read with Pleasure, what they heard with none :
Praise or Rebellion, the Dilemma now ;
Their Teacher's Reas'ning they must needs allow ; 120
Be mov'd, when Things in their true Light are shown,
To take his Conscience, and give up their own ;
To like, in Pulpits, Arbitrary Pow'r,
And Seats subdued to Tyrants of an Hour.

Had some State Holyday—Thanksgiving, Fast—
Put him in Mind of cooking such Repast,
He might have pleaded this Excuse, at least,
They need not come, who shall dislike the Feast.
But wherein lies of that Excuse the Force ?

"The Sermon fell in with the common Course
Of Preaching,"—how fell in ? What, of itself ? 130
No ; it had lain compos'd upon the Shelf,
Ready prepar'd for Numbers fore'd to hear
The Bar-like Sounds, and shed the helpless Tear.
'Twas not a sudden Fit of Complaisance ;
It fell in—by premeditated Chance.
Free to have spar'd an Audience, wherein
Not to renew their Sorrow was no Sin,
He chose, as one to whom it did belong,
For social Peace to irritate the Throng. 140
Laymen might hide of Laity the Woes ;

116. *Must lay the People's Prejudice to Rest.* "Pref., p. vi. But when Prejudices begin to wear off, and the Passions of the People cool again, we hope they will see Things in their true Light."—BYR.

125. *Some State Holyday, Thanksgiving, Fast.* As in the case of Dr. Sacheverell, who on the 5th of November, 1709, preached before the Lord Mayor and

Aldermen on "the Perils of False Brethren both in Church and State."

130. *The Sermon fell in.* See Reference to l. 9.—BYR.

134. *Bar-like.* Forensic, incriminatory. Cf. below, l. 163 : "as Pleaders bawl."

140. *For social Peace.* "Pref., p. v. And if the Clergy, who by the Nature of their Office are to promote the Peace

The Clergy's Office is to interpose.
 He acts in Character, while he confines
 Both Heav'n and Earth to what himself opines ;
 Points the dire Stroke at Persons not alive,
 And then, at all who pity and survive.

This kind of Conduct,—from Affairs of State,
 And Temp'ral Laws, to fix eternal Fate,—
 Did Christ and his Apostles, to apply
 His own plain Question, ever justify ?
 “They never meddled with the Rights of Kings.”
 How comes He then to meddle with such Things ?
 “Nor they nor any ancient Martyr died,
 A Crown's disputed Title to decide.”
 No ;—nor to such a titular Dispute
 The sacred Function did they prostitute.
 For sceptred Rule they neither drew the Sword,
 Nor of an earthly Kingdom preach'd the Word.
 If the Religion of these Days persuade

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and Welfare of Society, are not to interpose (so as they do it in a way agreeable to their Character) and to guard the Undiscerning against the Danger of Error, and the Artifice and ill Tendency of false Opinions—to whom does it belong?”—
 BYR.

147. *This kind of Conduct.* “Pp. 25,
 26. Did Christ or his Apostles, or any of the primitive Martyrs, justify by their Example this kind of Conduct? Can we imagine, that the Apostle would ever have ascrib'd this Honour to those whom he had caution'd not to suffer as Murderers, as Thieves, as Busy-Bodies in other Mens Matters, and of Consequence not as Rebels and Traitors to their King and Country? We never read that they meddled with the Rights of Kings; we don't read that any of

them ever died in the Defence of a disputed Title to a Crown, a Title too that has been long determined by those who only could have the Power of determining,—the States of the Kingdom, and in them the general Voice and Sense of the Nation. If the Religion of these Days can afford us no better Martyrs, how are we fallen off from the primitive Times! These it is true suffer'd, but how? As Malefactors, not as Martyrs: They suffer'd, but for what? Not for Religion, nor Righteousness, but for the wicked Consequences of a prejudiced Attachment to an erroneous Principle, which has been long exploded.”—BYR.

149. *Christ and his Apostles.* But “they did not know ev'rything down in Judee.”

The Christian Priests to drive this worldly Trade, 160
In, with such Wrangling, if the Pulpit chimes,
How are we fall'n off from the ancient Times?
'Tis true, they preach,—but how? As Pleaders bawl;
Not as the Ancient Christians did, at all.
They preach, but what Religion? Of a Throne,
By Christ and His not meddled with, they own;
For such Attachment to a reigning Mode,
As Christ, Apostles, Martyrs, all explode.

How was it possible to think of them,
And raise such Wrath about a Diadem? 170
Of Christ the Love and Meekness to recall,
Who bore the Sins and Suff'rings of us all,
And then directly, with unbearing Zeal,
One half the Sermon with one half repeal?
Here Gospel-Pity and Compassion shines;
Law, Death, and Judgment, fill succeeding Lines.
First is display'd the Doctrine of the Cross;
That of the Gibbet then supplies its Loss.
How Heav'n alone Men's Consciences can try,
And He Himself condemns them by-and-by. 180
Here in one Page the Living Saints are priz'd,

170. *A Diadem.* An earthly crown.

171. *Of Christ the Love.* "Pp. 8, 9.

Did ever any Mourning come up to the Man of Sorrows who bore the Sins and Sufferings of the World? Or, whose Meekness so strongly illustrated the ungrateful Lesson to Flesh and Blood of forgiving Injuries, and returning Good for Evil? Who hunger'd and thirsted so after Righteousness as the Sun of Righteousness, whose Meat and Drink it was to do the Will of his Father? His Compassion for the Infirmities and Miseries of Man, &c."—BYR.

179. *Now Heav'n alone.* "P. 14. For

Conscience, as it cannot be summoned, so neither is it to be tried in a Court of human Judicature, but is reserv'd for the Bar of Heaven."—BYR.

180. *And He Himself.* "P. 25. Who have injured their Conscience in pursuing the Directions of false and destructive Principles; those who suffer'd for the Sake of Christ, and not those who for the Sake of a Foreigner."—BYR.

181. *Here in one Page.* "Pp. 23, 24. The living Saint must be the Preparative to the dying Martyr. Martyrdom, as 'tis one of the highest Characters in, so 'tis one of the greatest Honours to Religion. To

And in the next the Dead ones villainis'd.
 One while Religion, to obtain its Ends,
 On its own native Energy depends :
 Worldly Dominion, and the Lust of Rule,
 Reverse the Doctrine of the Christian School :
 Our meek and holy Lord had no Intent
 To found His Church on such Establishment ;
 The Force of Truth, persuasive of the Will,
 Was, and must be, Religion's Armour still.
 These Things the Preacher had no sooner spoke,
 But thus his next immediate Words revoke :
 " It is oblig'd, in order to enforce
 It's own intrinsic Pow'rs, to have Recourse
 To Civil Pow'r "—Adieu, then, Force Innate,
 By which the Church did once convert the State ;
 By which blind Heathen, persecuting Jew,

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arrive at this elevated Pitch of Christian Perfection, we must have the firmest Faith, the strongest Love, the most improved Virtue, and the steadiest Courage : And yet if we look into the pretended Martyrologies of the *Romish* Church, how often may we meet with this glorious Character eclipsed and lessen'd, by ascribing it to those who had not the least Pretence to it, but their sanctifying an unholy Life, perhaps by sacrificing it in some villainous Cause, for promoting the ambitious Views of the Church!"—BYR.

184. *On its own native Energy.* "P. 18. When Gain was made the great End of Godliness, and Christianity became a mere Creature of the World, then Cruelties and Tragedies were each Day acted under the Pretence of defending and protecting the Religion of Christ, which abhorred such Instruments, depending upon its native Energy, Beauty, and Truth, to recommend itself to the Hearts of Men."—BYR.

185. *Worldly Dominion.* "Pp. 19, 20. Worldly Dominion, which was the very Reverse of the Kingdom of Christ ; for 'twas never the Intention of the meek and holy Jesus, or his Apostles, to establish his Church upon such a Foundation ; they left no such Examples, taught no such Doctrines ; their Weapons were the Force of Truth and Persuasion, animated by the Sword of the Spirit : And such must be the Armour of Religion still ; it is indeed obliged to call in the Assistance of the Civil Power, so far as is necessary to enforce its own intrinsic Powers, which are essential to the visible Constitution, outward Establishment, and a decent and publick Profession of it."—BYR.

197. *By which blind Heathen.* "P. 16. The Opposition of the persecuting Jew, as well as the cruel Oppression of the blind and immoral Heathen ; and thereby animated them with such a Spirit of Christian Fortitude and Firmness of Soul, as alone

And the great Antichrist, it overthrew ;
By Beauty, Truth, and passive Virtue then,
Self-recommended to the Hearts of Men,
With its Blest Founder's Spirit once endued,
Firmness of Soul, and Christian Fortitude ;
Spite of the World, it conquer'd worldly Pow'rs :
—Now free, thank God, from Danger under Ours !

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Yes, to be sure——look round about, and name
The Civil Pow'r, that does not say the same ;
The Bigot Priest, that does not thus maintain
His Church of *Rome, Geneva, France, or Spain* :
In Times and Places though they differ quite,
Pulpit-Possession makes all Doctrines right.

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'Twas this that kindled the religious Blaze
Of Heretics, so call'd, in *Marian Days* ;
And here, by one of Wording false afraid,
Martyrs without the Church's Office made ;
By one, whose Pages after that refer,
For real Martyrs and their Lives to her ;

could enable them to support and propagate his Gospel in spight of all the Discouragements which a prejudiced, ignorant, and malicious World could form against them."—BYR.

198. *And the great Antichrist.* "P. 19. Here you have the Prophecy of Antichrist fulfill'd, who has extended his baneful Influence and Cruelty over a large Part of the Christian World."—BYR.

200. *Self-recommended.* See Reference to l. 184.—BYR.

204. *Now free.* "P. 20. But Thanks be to God, our Civil Power is lodged in the Hands of those, who, as they have better

learned Christ, so they breathe a more Christian Spirit."—BYR.

214. *Martyrs.* "P. 19. Popery has been the cruel Instrument of Martyrdom to many of our Ancestors, who now enjoy the Reward of it."—BYR.

216. *For real Martyrs.* "P. 27. Protestants should be better taught : If we would attend to the Lives and Examples of those, which our Church hath so distinguish'd and injoin'd us to remember in that Light, we should be better inform'd what it is to suffer for Righteousness sake, and who those are to whom the Honour of such a Character is to be ascribed. To endeav-

Who bids us learn from her Injunctions too,
To whom the Honour of that Name is due.

Let Protestants attend then, as they ought,
To her Injunctions, and be better taught.
Whom has she so distinguish'd, and enjoin'd
Her Sons to call their Martyrdom to mind ?
What canonisèd Villains, in the List
Of *Romish* Martyrs, has the Church dismist ?
So often met with in a rambling Charge,
Brought against Martyrologies at large,—
Unprov'd——no matter !——'tis the taking Style :
Papists at random, right or wrong, revile !
Christianity itself in them is Fraud ;
Bigots are pléas'd, and Infidels applaud.

220

230

our at Imitation of the Lives of those Saints and Martyrs, which our Church hath dignified with that Honour ; copying their Innocence, Piety and inoffensive Carriage, that like unto *David* none may find any Occasion against us, except concerning the Law of our God.”—BYR.

223. *What canonized Villains.* See Reference to l. 181.—BYR.

225. *A rambling Charge.* Yet it was advanced, in more moderate terms, by Cardinal Bessarion in the middle of the 15th century, who “*quum inter divos inepti quadam ἀποθέσοι Romæ quam plurimos referri videret, quorum vitam improbarat, se valde dubitare dixit, utrum veracescent, quæ ab antiquis prodita fuerunt.*” (Jo. Bodinus, *Methodus Historica*, c. 4, ap. Gieseler, *Compendium of Ecclesiastical History* (tr. by J. W. Hull in Clarke's *Foreign Library*, 1855, vol. v. p. 59, note). Apart from particular doubtful cases, such as that of St. George, there can be no doubt but that the overgrowth of canonisations

was among the grievances urged against the Church of Rome in the period preceding the Reformation. As to primitive times, it will be sufficient to recall, for what they are worth, the sneers of Gibbon : “It is a very ancient reproach, suggested by the ignorance or the malice of infidelity, that the Christians allured into their party the most atrocious criminals, who, as soon as they were touched by a sense of remorse, were easily persuaded to wash away, in the water of baptism, the guilt of their past conduct, for which the temples of the gods refused to grant them any expiation. But this reproach, when it is cleared from misrepresentation, contributes as much to the honour as it did to the increase of the church. The friends of Christianity may acknowledge without a blush, that many of the most eminent Saints had been before their baptism the most abandoned sinners.” *Decline and Fall*, ch. xv.)

For such rash Judgment, for such mean Abuse,
The Church affords her Children no Excuse.
She blames the Virulence of ev'ry Sect,
But pays all pious Characters Respect.
Whilst she endeavours, by all loving Arts,
To heal Divisions, and unite Men's Hearts,
They through the widen'd Breaches rush to storm,
And ruin what she labours to reform.
Her just Design their frantic Zeal supplants,
She left the Sinners, and they leave the Saints.

240

Of Saints so far from seeking the Disgrace,
'Twas their Example that she sought to trace.
She has, indeed, the Preacher might have shown,
Had he thought fit, a Martyr of her own,
A Royal Martyr—though his fatal Hour
Was fixt by those, who only could have Pow'r ;
Though he, to use the Language of the Times,

245. *A Royal Martyr,—though.* “P.
25. A Title too that has been long de-
termined by those who only could have
the Power of determining.”—BYR.

Our prayer-book no longer contains the
“Form of Prayer with Fasting, to be used
yearly on the Thirtieth of January, being
the Day of the Martyrdom of the Blessed
King CHARLES the First : to implore the
mercy of God, that neither the Guilt of that
sacred and innocent Blood, nor those
other sins, by which God was provoked
to deliver up both us and our King into
the hands of cruel and unreasonable men,
may at any time hereafter be visited upon
us or our posterity.” But it is not many
years ago that at Peak Forest in Derby-
shire a church dedicated to King Charles
the Martyr was taken down, a new church

dedicated to St. James being erected
in its place. The old church-front, which
has a family resemblance to Old Temple
Bar, now serves as a portico to the village
club. The number of churches dedicated
to the Royal Martyr must, however, have
been extremely small.

In the discussion concerning the correct
use of the term “Martyr” in the *Man-
chester Magazine*, reprinted in *Manchester
Vindicated*, pp. 110 *segg.*, it is said to be
improperly applied to King Charles I.

248. *By public Justice.* “P. 23. Who-
ever has deservedly drawn on himself the
Resentment of public Justice, through any
Instance of wrong Conduct, by engaging
in Sedition or Rebellion, suffers not as a
Martyr, but is punish'd as a Malefactor,
and a criminal Opposer of just Authority.”

—BYR.

By public Justice died for public Crimes,
 When, bent against his Subjects to rebel,
 On his own Head the just Resentment fell.
 The Church, however, mov'd by other Laws,
 Regarded not the Suff'ring, but the Cause ;
 Approv'd of his, unmindful of the Rights
 Of all the Worthies whom our Author cites ;
 Of *Marian* Ancestors forgot to sing ;
 Her only Martyr was a STUART King.

250

Had but our Friend, Sir, lent the Church his Voice,
 And will'd, in earnest, to defend her Choice ;
 His Text had rather led him to expose
 The real Falsehoods of Fanatic Foes ;
 Nor had he left her publicly defam'd
 To talk of Claims that never had been claim'd.
 With cool Formality, in gen'ral Terms,
 The Church's Judgment feebly he affirms,
 Waves her distinguish'd Act, and passes by
 All those who give both Church and King the Lie ;
 Permits unnotic'd the Sectarian Crew
 To urge her Falsehood, and her Martyrs too.

260

While for his own imagin'd Motto's sake,
 What wild "Perhaps's" is he forc'd to make !
 Of Honours that feign'd Advocates allot,
 Of loading, gilding, colouring, and what not ?

270

252. *Regarded not.* "P. 22. For it is not suffering alone that constitutes the Character of a Martyr, but the Cause for which a Man suffers."—BYR.

255. *Of Marian Ancestors.* See Reference to l. 214.—BYR.

269. *While for his own.* Alluding to the Title of his Sermon, *The false Claims to Martyrdom considered.*—BYR.

271. *Of Honours that.* "P. 26. The Advocates of Rebellion, who perhaps were the first Authors of their fatal Mistakes ; and now, by way of Reparation of the Injury, are loading them with vain Honours, gilding over the Sufferings of those unfortunate Persons, with the false Colouring of Martyrdom."—BYR

The Proof against these *Nemo's*, and their Traps,
And Reparations——is the poor “Perhaps.”

Had all been true, should a good-natur'd Man
Form of such posthumous Revenge the Plan ?
And after Hangmen had perform'd their Parts,
Pronounce the Character, rip up the Hearts
Of those who suffer'd, guiltless they at least
Of what the Living say at the Deceas'd ?

280

Admit, that “ Martyrdom ” is not the Case
Of them who suffer for a Martyr's Race ;
For Prince and Country if they die, admit
“ Hero ” and “ Patriot ” to be Words more fit :
Must not a Clergyman be much at Ease
To ventilate such Niceties as these ;
To play the Critic, when the poor Misled
—To answer all his Arguments——were dead ?

But outward Rev'rence shewn to their Remains
Excites the Preacher's seasonable Pains.
Poor, weak Pretence, unworthy of the Gown !
The Fact is known to ev'ry Child in Town,
However cloak'd with disingenuous Hints,
The stupid Nonsense of the lying Prints.
Custom, that teaches how to treat dead Foes,

290

284. *Hero and Patriot.* “ P. 23. Should we fall in the Field of Battle in the Defence of our Prince, and the Liberties of our Country, we may be said to die gloriously, as Heroes and Patriots; a Character, which has dignified the Memory of many a noble Heathen, whose Gallantry merited it, but yet vastly inferior to the Honour of Martyrdom.”—BYR.

289. *But—outward Rev'rence.* “ Pref. p. iv. No one that would not encourage

the Revival of the late Rebellion, can think the Subject unseasonable, especially where outward Reverence is publickly shewn to the Remains of the deluded Sufferers ; where the Distinction of Characters is so much confounded, and the Honours of Martyrdom vainly ascribed to them.”—BYR.

295. *Custom, that teaches how to treat dead Foes.* The practice of setting up the heads of traitors on the gate-houses of Old London Bridge was common at all events

*India to scalp, and Europe to expose,
The mildest Strokes of Justice to pursue,
Fixt up deluded Suff'rers Heads to view.
Some tender Persons the Remains so fixt
Behold with Horror and Compassion mixt.
A Widow or an Orphan, passing by,
Paid them the Honours of the weeping Eye ; —
A Father, to sum up the whole Affair,
Put off his Hat, perhaps preferr'd a Pray'r.*

300

from the beginning of the fourteenth century, when that of Wallace was so exposed, and continued till the reign of Charles II., when Thomas Venner's underwent the same treatment. Later in the same reign, Sir Thomas Armstrong's remains were among the first to be placed on the new (better known to us as Old) Temple Bar. The last heads left to rot on the Bar were those of the Lancashire Jacobites Fletcher and Townley. (CUNNINGHAM'S *London*.)

297. *The mildest Strokes.* “P. 22. How natural is it for those under the Smart of Punishment, or their Friends, to call the mildest Strokes of Justice, Cruelty and Persecution?”—BYR.

303. *A Father.* This alludes to the following Story in the News-Papers : “*Manchester Magazine, Sept. 23, 1746 :* Last Thursday about five in the Morning the Heads of *Thomas Siddall* and *Thomas Deacon* were fixed upon the Exchange. Great Numbers have been to view them : And Yesterday Dr. *Deacon*, a Nonjuring Priest, and Father to one of them, made a full Stop near the Exchange, and looking up at the Heads pull'd off his Hat, and made a Bow to them with great Reverence. He afterwards stood some time looking at them.” “*Whitehall Evening Post, October 11, 1746.* Extract of

a Letter from Manchester, dated October 6: ‘The two Rebels Heads are revered, and almost adored, as Trophies of Martyrdom. The Father of one of them (who is a Nonjuring Bishop), as he passes by them, frequently pulls off his Hat, and looks at them above a Minute with a solemn complacent Smile. Some suppose he offers a Prayer for them, others to them.’”—BYR.

See also *ante*, p. 301, the *Epigram* (III.) contributed by Byrom to the *Chester Courant* of December 2nd, 1746, on the witnessing of this incident by some of the contributors to Whitworth's *Manchester Magazine*. (There are one or two slight verbal differences in the earlier of the above passages, cited from *Manchester Vindicated* in my note to the *Epigram*.) For various other charges against Dr. Deacon see the papers from this *Magazine* reprinted in *Manchester Vindicated, passim*. Much is made in them of his position as a Nonjuring clergyman, or “Bishop.” “Timothy Tell-Truth” accordingly writes in No. 27 of the *Chester Courant*, February 24th, 1727 (*Manchester Vindicated*, p. 54): “The title of Bishop, and a Bishop, as I was told, of pretty near the same Complexion with the Romish Ones, gave me an Idea of some most venerable Personage, who

From hence, the wond'rous second-sighted Ken
Of late Rebellion rising up again.
Hence, the strange Fancies of our Friend who hears
Unutter'd Notions sounding in his Ears.
The public Danger, from Attempts all quash'd,
Requires the slain Offenders to be lash'd ;
Haunted by Rebel Ghosts, the Common-weal
Still hangs upon th' *Assistant-Curate's* Zeal. 310

Important Task ! The Pulpit of St. ANNE'S
Never so flourish'd under HOOLES and BANNES.

never stirr'd out without his Equipage and proper Habiliments . . . [but] In short, Mrs. Adams, he was dress'd just like other Men, and prov'd to be nothing more than a Physician in Town, of great Repute for his Learning and Practice ; who (having a Head tun'd a little more to Religion than most of his Fraternity) had, by an industrious Search into the Writings of Antiquity, discover'd, or thought so at least, a more pure Form of Worship than his Neighbours. This he follow'd himself, and admitted others, dissatisfied with other Forms, to practise with him. As to his *Congregation*, it consisted, according to the Account I received, of about a Score of Persons, the greatest Part of them Women. Such is the Man who, one would think from the Rout which has been made about him, threatens the destruction of Three Kingdoms ; the Toleration of whom, in the Language of some People, is *intolerable*." Cf. C. J. Abbey's essay on *Robert Nelson : his Friends and Church Principles* in *Abbey and Overton's English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd edition, pp. 60-1 : "The introduction in 1718 of the distinctive 'usages' in the communion-service contributed greatly to the further estrangement of a large section of Nonjurors ; and those who adopted the new Prayer-book drawn up in 1734 by Bishop Deacon, were alienated still more.

. . . When Bishop Deacon's son, a youth of little more than twenty, suffered execution for his share in the '45, his last words upon the scaffold were that he died 'a member, not of the Church of Rome, nor yet of that of England, but of a pure Episcopal Church, which has reformed all the errors, corruptions, and defects that have been introduced into the modern Churches of Christendom.'"

More about Dr. Deacon will be found *infra*. For a list of his works see C. W. Sutton, *The Writings of "Doctor" Thomas Deacon and his Opponent, the Rev. J. Owen*, reprinted from *The Manchester Courier*, 1879. He died September 16th, 1753. Byrom's Library contains two copies of Deacon's treatise against the Roman Catholic doctrine of Purgatory (1718), and the first two editions (1747-8) of his *View of [primitive] Christianity, "with the faith, practice, worship, and rituals, as then received by the Universal Church, in a Shorter and a Longer Catechism."* (See Catalogue, p. 66.)

314. HOOLES and BANNES. The Two late Rectors of *St. Anne's* Church in *Manchester*.—BYR.

313-4. *The Pulpit of ST. ANNE'S
Never so flourish'd under Hooles
and Bannes.*

As to Joseph Hoole see *Introductory Note*.

Poor aged Rectors They, whose utmost Speed
 Seldom out-ran the common Christian's Creed !
 True to their Office, but unskill'd to broach
 The Secret of Political Reproach,
 They took th' old-fashion'd Methods to increase
 Of Social Life the Welfare and the Peace.
 They did not end the Church's Common Pray'rs
 With fierce Dispute of secular Affairs ;
 Not first the Saviour's Life and Words relate,
 And then go preach the Bigotries of State ;
 Of Gospel-Love submissive to the Yoke,
 They never sought their Hearers to provoke ;
 Whoe'er aspers'd them, they could bear it still
 Nor ask the Type to justify the Quill.

320

May Age, Experience, and impartial Truth,
 To reach their Mildness prompt succeeding Youth !
 May he, whose Honesty I question not,
 Though other Mens, too hasty, he forgot,
 And forc'd a Friend's expostulating Lines,
 See his Mistake, and match those meek Divines ;
 Leave to the low-bred O——NS of the Age
 Sense to belie, and Loyalty to rage,—

330

He was preceded as Rector of St. Anne's by the Rev. Nathaniel Banne, who was also Chaplain to Bishop Gastrell of Chester. (See *Remains*, i. 46, note.) Cf. Byrom's note to l. 358 below.

320. *Of social Life.* See Reference to l. 140.—BYR.

328. *Ask the Type to justify the Quill.*
 Print the sermons written by them.

335. *Leave to the low-bred O——NS.*
 Alluding to a Furious Fanatic Preacher in the Neighbourhood of *Manchester*, who has lately publish'd some Sermons in the Spirit here describ'd.—BYR.

This was the passage, which led to the

controversy of which the verses next printed in the present edition formed part. Josiah Owen, a Unitarian minister at Rochdale, had printed the Thanksgiving-Sermon preached by him there on October 9th, 1746, under the title of *All is well; or, The Defeat of the late Rebellion, and Deliverance from its dreadful Consequences, an Exalted and illustrious Blessing*. In this sermon he had thrown doubts upon the legitimate birth of the Old Pretender. (See the passage cited in an article in the *Chester Courant* of June 23rd, 1747, reprinted in *Manchester Vindicated*, p. 236 note.)

Wit to make Treason of each Cry and Chat,
And Eyes to see false Worship in a Hat ;
Wisdom and Love to construe Heart and Mien,
By the new Gospel of a *Magazine* !

340

To such Excess let wild Fanatics run,
And deeper Thought direct the Church's Son,—
Such as old HAMMOND, here before me, fir'd,
And pitying Love for Enemies inspir'd !
This learnèd Church-man, loyal and devout,
When told of Traitors that were put to Rout,

340. *A Magazine.* Alluding to Mr. O——n's mentioning the Story above-mentioned in his Ranting Sermon upon the Thanksgiving Day, and citing for it a paltry Weekly News Paper, intituled, the *Manchester Magazine*.—BYR.

From the *Preface* to Owen's *Letter to the Master Tool*, &c. (see *Introductory Note to Sir Lowbred O . . . n*, below) it would appear that Owen "in a Marginal Note, referr'd to a Paragraph inserted in the *Manchester Magazine* by an Eye-Witness to the Fact, to support a Charge of Skull-Worship. Besides this, he published a Letter in the *Supplement* to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1746, relating to in the Manchester Jacobite faction." For in this letter, signed "*Philopatriæ*" [sic], in which the Manchester Jacobites and Dr. Deacon are vehemently attacked, there occurs the sentence: "Consult consistency a little, or expect to be as little regarded as, what shall I say?—I want a Simile—as the Dream that passes, or the Shadow that flies." To this is appended the following note: "'Tis suppos'd this alludes to two Papers upon Dreams in the *Spectator*, signed *John Shadow*, said to be wrote by Dr. B——m of Manchester."

343. *Such as old HAMMOND.* Dr. Hammond's *Life prefix'd to his Works*, pag. 50. "When the Defeat of Lambert and his Party, the last Effort of gasping Treason in this Nation before its blest Return unto Obedience, was told him, his only Triumph was that of his Charity, saying with Tears in his Eyes, *Poor Souls! I beseech God forgive them!*"—BYR.

For an interesting account, by Mr. Richard Hooper, of Dr. Henry Hammond, one of the most loveable of the divines of the Church of England, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxiv. Byrom's Library (see Catalogue, p. 101) contains some of Hammond's very numerous publications, among them his Advent Sermon preached at Carisbrooke Castle in 1647, on *The Christian's Obligations to Peace and Charity*, which was not long afterwards sent by him to King Charles I. at Carisbrooke, whence he had by his nephew Colonel Robert Hammond been removed from his long and faithful attendance upon the King as one of his Chaplains; and his *Pacific Discourse of God's Grace and Decrees*, published in 1660, in which year he died on April 25th, the day Parliament voted the Restoration.

Found in his Charity for them a Share :
" Poor Souls ! May God forgive them ! " was his Pray'r.
His Charity nor Laws nor Rights confin'd,
Nor Politics unchristianis'd his Mind.
The faithful Subject his Allegiance kept ;
The Christian Priest for routed Rebels wept.

350

Many the Instances of such-like Love,—
One, that, perhaps, if any can, may move :
If outward Rev'rence to a Father's Name
From one united to the Child may claim,
He will forbear hereafter to out-brave
The known Example which that Father gave.

Two Men, condemnèd for the self-same Crime,
Have suffer'd Death, though at a diff'rent Time.

360

358. *The known Example.* The Gentleman meant here is the late Reverend Mr. Nathanael Banne, M.A., formerly Rector of St. Anne's Church in Manchester, who left a Paper behind him, out of which I here transcribe, from his own Handwriting, as much as is necessary upon the present Occasion. The Paper is intituled,

"A True Account of the Particulars declared and subscrib'd to by Thomas Syddall Blacksmith, late of Manchester, under the Sentence of Death for High Treason, on the Day before and that of his Execution at Manchester, Feb. 11, 1715-16."

"—The said *Thomas Syddall* was to all Appearance (and accordingly I believe him to have been) a hearty, sincere, true Penitent for all the Sins of his past Life, excepting the Crime for which he was condemned, and afterwards suffered Death. As to which, he professed to me with all the Marks of Sincerity, even a little before his receiving the Blessed Sacrament, that

he could not be convinced, by whatever I or others had said to him, that it was a Sin ; and that he persisted in that Opinion not out of Perverseness, Obstinacy, or Humour, but a Conscientious Regard to what he was persuaded was right. Whereupon, after such Professions of Sincerity, and my fruitless Attempts to alter his Mind, I openly declared to him, that I left that matter to God and his own Conscience. And I thought myself obliged to gratify him in his Request of having the Holy Sacrament administered to him, which accordingly I did administer to him, and he received very devoutly.”

350

359. *Two Men, condemned for the self-same crime.* Thomas Sydall the elder took part in the Rebellion of 1715, and was executed at Manchester in the following year. The son, who was a barber, was Adjutant in the Manchester Regiment in 1745, and suffered death in 1746. (*Remains*, ii. 390, note.)

Both their Remains distinguishèd alike,—
Father's and Son's—were stuck upon the Spike.
The first as guilty as the other, sure,
Whom filial Motives might perhaps allure !
Yet the good Rector, by whose pious Care
He was for Death instructed to prepare,
Pronounc'd him, though he never could repent
Of what he died for, a true Penitent ;
Maintain'd his Credit, whom he saw refuse
The strong Temptation falsely to accuse,
To wrong his Neighbours by no Proffers brib'd.
His solemn Word who doubted, hear describ'd
“Of Christian Charity quite destitute :”—
Common Humanity disowns the Brute.

370

He thought, though Men as Malefactors died,
They might persist, where Conscience was the Guide ;
The Marks of true Sincerity not want,
And unconvincèd safely not recant.

He did not see th' unpardonable Sin
Of that Opinion which the Man was in,—
Not held from obstinate perverse Despise,
But just Regard to what he thought was right.
Fruitless Attempts to change the constant Mind
Of one so full persuaded he declin'd ;
All other Crimes right heartily confess'd,
He left that Point to God and his own Breast.

380

Great the Regard to Conscience, when sincere ;
To this both Priest and Penitent adhere.
The Penitent, though in their Prince's Name

373. *Of Christian Charity quite destitute.* Mr. Banne's Postscript to his above-mentioned Paper. “Now certainly the solemn Declarations of a dying Penitent, subscribed by him a little before his receiving

the Blessed Sacrament, ought to have, and doubtless will have, some Credit given to them by all, that are not quite void of Christian Charity, or even Common Humanity.”—BYR.

They differ'd, hop'd their Saviour was the same ;
Begg'd that the Sacrament of Christian Love
Might be his Passport to the Realms above.
The Priest, believing that a legal Death
Forbade not Blessing from the Living Breath,
Will'd a declarèd Rebel to partake
Of His Who died for ev'ry Sinner's sake.
See here by Friendship of a closer Band,
Than what the World's Distinctions could command,
The Clergy's Office dignified throughout,
Nor unabsolv'd a dying Man devout !

This unexceptionable Instance, Sir,
To some Respect a Son-in-Law may stir.
To what sage *Rectors* have maturely writ,
Novicial Warmth in *Curates* may submit.
Worthy indeed th' Example to prevail,
And teach, at least, our Teachers not to rail ;
Too oft descending into Civil Prate,
To make the Church a Fact'ress for the State !

O that the gen'rous Temper may descend
Along with outward Blessings to our Friend ! 410
The Father's Judgment may the Son revere,
Be to his Fortune, and his Virtues, Heir :
And, ev'ry Prejudice worn off, be brought
To teach the Gospel, as it first was taught ;
To breathe the Spirit which His Martyrs breath'd,
Whose Kingdom wants no civil Sword unsheathe'd ;
Whose Church from killing Sentences of Law
Her mitred Chiefs still teaches to withdraw,—
Not, sure, in sacred Places to maintain

413. *And ev'ry Prejudice.* "Pref., p. vi. But when Prejudices begin to wear off."—BYR.

415. To breath the Spirit. "P. 200.
Who, as they have better learned Christ, so
they breathe a more Christian Spirit." - BYR.

That which forbade their Presence in profane ! 420

They from the Prince of Peace should, sure, derive
The Meek, the Gentle, and the "Not to strive!"
From Him the Clergy's Mission and Employ,
Who came to save Men's Lives, not to destroy.

So may he learn, Sir, to possess entire
His hearty Wish, and his sincere Desire ;
To be with Pleasure and Improvement heard,
When to rash Zeal true Candour is preferr'd,
And spread, without Exception or Offence,
Good Will to all, good Manners, and good Sense ! 430

421. *They from the Prince of Peace.* "P.
9. To whom could the Character of the
Peace-maker be more applicable than to
Him, who was dignified with the Title of
being the Prince of Peace, and whose Mis-
sion was distinguished by publishing that
blessed Message of Peace from God,
Peace of Conscience, and Peace with each
other?"—BYR.

424. *Who came to save.* "P. 31. All
persecuting Principles, as they are contrary
to, so they are destructive of the Spirit of
Christianity, for the Son of Man came not
to destroy Mens Lives, but to save them."—
BYR.

426. *His hearty Wish.* "Pref., p. vi.
We hope they will see Things in their true
Light, and be again brought to hear their
Teachers with more Pleasure and Im-
provement, and less Offence and Excep-
tion.—*This is the Author's hearty Wish
and Desire.*"—BYR.

SIR LOWBRED O . . N,

OR,

THE HOTTENTOT KNIGHT.

[The above is the title prefixed to the following verses on a single-page broadside now before me, which bears no date, but which is illustrated by a woodcut so gross as to make it probable that this was the impression of which Byrom complained that it was not printed as his friend Mr. Thyer, whose Hudibrastic inclinations may have rendered him lenient to drastic figurations, had "said it was to be" (see *Remains*, ii. 437). The complete title of another edition in my possession, small quarto, *n.d.*, "price sixpence," runs as follows : "SIR LOWBRED O . . N : or, THE HOTTENTOT KNIGHT. A NEW BALLAD, to the Tune of THE ABBOT OF CANTERBURY, Occasion'd by a Pamphlet lately publish'd, intituled 'Jacobite and Nonjuring PRINCIPLES freely examin'd, In a Letter to the Master-Tool of the Faction at Manchester : with Remarks on some Part of a Book lately published, intituled A Christian Catechism, &c., said to be wrote by Dr. D—c—n. By J. OWEN.'

Sed hic Stylus haud petet ultro
Quenquam Animantem, et me veluti custodiet Ensis
Vaginâ tectus : quem cur distingere coner
Tutus ab infestis Latronibus ! O Pater et Rex
Jupiter, ut pereat positum Rubigine Telum,
Nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi Pacis ! At ille,
Qui me commorit (melius non tangere, clamo)
Flebit, et insignis tota CANTABITUR Urbe.

—HOR. [Sat. II., i. 39-46.]

This edition has been followed in the text.

Josiah Owen was descended from a Welsh family which numbered among its members several divines. About 1740 he was minister of

the Unitarian chapel in Blackwater Street, Rochdale. He died after 1750. (See Mr. C. W. Sutton's *Biographical Note on the Writings of "Doctor" Thomas Deacon and of his opponent, the Rev. J. Owen of Rochdale*, reprinted from the *Manchester Courier*, Manchester, 1879, which he had the kindness to communicate to me, and which contains a list of Owen's known writings. They include a variety of sermons and tracts, among the former "The Song of Deborah," applied to the Battle of Dettingen (1743), and the "scandalous" sermon "All is well, or The Defeat of the late Rebellion, &c., an exalted and illustrious blessing," 1746). Owen was a bitter opponent of Thomas Cattell (cf. *ante*, pp. 85, 91, 264), who in 1724 was elected Chaplain of a Jacobite club consisting of the Tory gentlemen of Rochdale and the neighbourhood. This Club styled itself "The Rochdale Corporation," and at one of its meetings Byrom put in an appearance, though in the following year his name occurs among the defaulters. Owen is said to have asserted—or at least the assertion was attributed to him,—that "God Himself showed His disapprobation of Jacobites; for Jacob's sons were not allowed to be so called, but *Israelites*." (See Canon Raines' *Lives of Fellows and Chaplains of the College of Manchester*, edited by Dr. F. Renaud, Part ii, pp. 233, 229; *Publications of the Chetham Society*, vol. xxiii., *New Series*, 1891). He seems, however, to have played a part of some importance in helping to eradicate Jacobite feeling from a district where it had been zealously fostered, and to have shown praiseworthy moral courage in the endeavour. Though Byrom's side was the *victa causa*, it was locally the popular one; and the tone in which he carried on this controversy must jar upon those who have a regard for his memory.

The full title of the Letter is: "*Jacobite and Non-juring Principles freely examined, in a LETTER TO THE MASTER-TOOL AT MANCHESTER. With Remarks on some Part of a Book lately published, intitled, A Full, True and Comprehensive View of Christianity, &c., wrote by Dr. Deacon. By J. Owen, Manchester, 1747.*" Mr. Sutton, *u.s.*, states that the unsold copies of the second edition of this book were issued by some London booksellers with a new title-page, and the addition of a few leaves of appendix. The new title ran: "*THE HUMOURIST; or, An entertaining Display of the absurdities of Roman Catholics and Non-jurors,*

containing Remarks upon Exorcism, with the story of ST. GRAT'S Exorcising away all the RATS in the country of Aost," &c., &c. [see ll. 105 seqq.]. A copy of this is in the Chetham Library.

Through the kindness of Mr. J. P. Earwaker, who lent me a copy of the second edition (1748) of the pamphlet mentioned above, I am able to give an account of Owen's long-winded prose retort to Byrom's contemptuous reference to him and his sermons in the *Epistle to a Friend*, ll. 335-340. Both the first and the second edition of the *Letter to the Master-Tool*, as well as copies of the Rochdale *Thanksgiving-Sermon*, and of the tract entitled *Dr. Deacon tried before his own Tribunal* (see below), are in Byrom's Library (see Catalogue, p. 166). The *Letter* is preceded by a *Preface*, in which it is stated that Owen's *Sermon* and his *Letter to the Gentleman's Magazine* (see note to l. 340 of the *Epistle to a Friend*), together with Nichols' *Sermon*, provoked "the Manchester Verse-Wright to produce his *Epistle*." "The *Master-Tool* was ordered to his Post, from whence he has since been preaching up Politeness with Dunghill-Breeding, and under Pretence of advocating for the true Catholic Church," [sic] "been labouring to introduce the Worship of Dunghill-Gods." Passing on to discuss the authorship of the *Epistle*, the *Preface* pretends that its author cannot be Mr. Byrom, inasmuch as the latter "is both a Gentleman and a Poet," and, moreover, "is well known, when among Whigs, to display the sentiments of a staunch and stedy Whig. . . . Some have even violently suspected him of being a Presbyterian;" but this is declared impossible, considering the opinion held of Presbyterians by Mr. Byrom's very good friend Dr. Deacon. With Dr. Deacon's *Catechism* the rest of the *Preface* is mainly concerned.

The character of the *Letter to the Master-Tool* itself is made tolerably clear from the extracts appended by Byrom to his satirical paraphrase in verse, and reproduced under my text. The *Leiter* certainly shows its author to have been a man deficient in both temper and breeding; but the provocation under which he was smarting had not been altogether slight. He attacks Byrom for his love of scribbling verses; for his greed in securing to himself by Act of Parliament the sole right of teaching his system of Shorthand; for his devotion to mysticism and Jacob Behmen; and above all, for his personal dealings in former days with the Pretender at Avignon. And he incidentally brings forward

against the Manchester Jacobites, and in particular against the Manchester clergy (of the Collegiate Church), the charge of having through the Legate O'Brian, received the Pope's condolences with their sufferings and acknowledgments of their zeal. (As to this scandal and its developement see *Remains*, ii. 439, note.) The Letter ends with the following postscript : " Whenever the Gentleman mention'd in the Preface to this Letter convinces the World, that he supports the same uniform political Character in all Companies and Places as he doth at Manchester, and as *He* can tell—who—did at Bologne or Avignon [sic], the Charge of his changing Sides as his Company or Interest changes, shall be publicly retracted."

In this kind of controversy it is not as a rule given either to high-bred or to lowbred combatants to display most advantageously their native or acquired politeness. Byrom's reply has a taking title, and some good points; but the original provocation must in fairness be allowed to have come from him; and when his adversary began to lay about him, it was hardly possible but that now and then a blow should tell. The weak point in the conduct of Byrom and some of his Manchester friends was their attempt to face both ways, though no doubt with a very wry expression when it was in the direction of " King GEORGE."

The *Letter to the Master-Tool* must have seen the light not later than the beginning of 1748; for the ballad ridiculing it was printed in the month of March of that year. See Edward Byrom's letter to John Byrom, March 23rd, 1748: " I hope before you receive this you'll have received some of Sir Lowbred's ballads which were sent you by Mr. Thomas Chaddock last Friday: some people say it will be answered, but I cannot tell whether it will or no." (*Remains*. ii. 425.) On April 7th following Byrom writes from London to his wife: " Thank Teddy" (their boy) " for his letter, and friend O——n for his care of my fame and reputation; I am hardly at leisure to mind him, or perhaps I might thank him myself." In the same letter he mentions a rumour that the French had taken Maestricht, but adds: [I] " cannot see the probability of it, and have heard wagers offered and refused that it was not even invested; so different are people's political sentiments, which I leave to themselves to account for; for my part, as I am known to be a staunch and steady Whig, &c." (*Remains*, ii. 435, where Canon Parkinson,

not recognising the quotation from Owen, has an inapposite note.) And on April 16th, he writes : "Pray, how comes it that the ballad that Mr. Thyer sent was not printed as he said it was to be, and why is not the second edition of Mr. Owen's book advertised? Mr. Foxley called here yesterday and borrowed mine, and the *Sir Lowbred* ballad of Jo. Clowes. The history of your Manchester wits seems to be little known here. I hope Messrs. Owen and Shadow will clear my character entirely." (*ib.*, 437). It is, therefore, tolerably clear that though not published until the beginning of April the "ballad" or "ballit" (*cf. ib.*, 438) had been written and printed in March, 1748. Byrom preferred not immediately to reveal his authorship, even to the wife of his bosom.

Although they are not directly connected with Byrom's verses, it may be worth while mentioning here the remaining stages in the Byrom-Owen-Deacon controversy. In Owen's pseudonymous letter printed in the *Supplement to the Gentleman's Magazine* for 1746 Dr. Deacon had been charged *inter alia* with having "absolved Justice Hall and Parson Paul" (participants in the Rebellion of 1715) "at the Gallows." (The declarations of these non-jurors published after their execution in 1716 seem certainly to have been written by Deacon. See Mr. C. W. Sutton's *Biographical Note*, &c., cited above.) An anonymous declaration in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1747, had declared that "every one of those Assertions, except having three Sons in the Rebellion, is false, as the Doctor will at a proper Time make appear." Accordingly, in the same Journal for May, 1748, there was inserted *Dr. Deacon's Vindication of himself*, reprinted from the *Chester Courant*, where it had appeared on April 26th. (It is also reprinted in *Manchester Vindicated*, pp. 51 *seqq.*) This declaration, which is signed "Thomas Deacon," contravenes all the charges of covert treason brought against him, and leaves that of having three sons in the late Rebellion "to the judgment of every candid reader." Owen replied to this by a fresh tract, a copy of which is in Byrom's Library; another was kindly lent to me by Mr. Earwaker, "*Dr. Deacon try'd before his own Tribunal; or an Examination of the several Facts deny'd by him in the GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE for May last; by those very Rules laid down in his Catechism for the Conviction of Offenders, in a Letter to the said Gentleman.* By J. Owen. Manchester, 1748." Dr. Deacon is stated to have laid down three rules, by any one of which a criminal

may be held legally convicted of his crime. In the present case two of these are said to be superfluous, inasmuch as the third suffices: "there is no need either of the Criminal's own Confession, or Conviction by Witnesses, for their Crime being notorious, it needs no formal Process or Examination of Witnesses to condemn them." The notoriety of Dr. Deacon's offences is accordingly urged as giving the lie to "the holy Legerdemain" of his replies; and with this supreme effort in a style of controversy which must be allowed to be in its way unanswerable, the Rev. Josiah Owen, so far as I am aware, quits the arena.

The tune of "The Abbot of Canterbury" (with the refrain "Derry down, &c.") seems to have been popular about the time of the composition of Byrom's ballad. To it is also written the "new song" of *The Manchester Rebels* which appeared in the *Chester Courant* on February 24th, 1747 (*Manchester Vindicated*, p. 155), but which I cannot believe to be by Byrom. It will doubtless be remembered how in *Ivanhoe* (chap. xvii.) the Clerk of Copmanhurst (Friar Tuck) entertains his *incognito* royal guest with "the characteristic song" of *The Barefooted Friar* "to a sort of derry-down chorus, appropriate to an old English ditty." A note by the author reminds the reader that "the chorus of 'derry down' is supposed to be as ancient, not only as the times of the Heptarchy, but as those of the Druids, and to have furnished the chorus to the hymns of those venerable persons when they went to the woods to gather mistletoe." To such jovial (not to say whiskey-punch) learning it is difficult to add. The earliest reference to the refrain with which I remember to have met is in Nash's *Have with you to Saffron Walden*: "Whatsoever I fear, I'll force Jenkin Heyderry derry both to fear and bear my colours." (Grosart's *Works of Nash (Huth Library)*, iii. 46.) The ballad of *King John and the Abbot of Canterbury*, in Percy's *Reliques* (ed. 1852, pp. 167-8), is stated to be "chiefly printed from an ancient black-letter copy, to 'the tune of Derry-down'" ; but is without the refrain.

I.

WHEN Lowbred of Rochdale, good People, sat down
To encounter the Faction at Manchester Town,

1-4. *When LOWBRED of ROCHDALE*, of an Order of Knighthood amongst the &c. "P. 3. SIR, I have somewhere read *Hottentots*, where the Person install'd is

Like old Brother *Quixote*, he thought it but right,
That at first setting out they should dub him a Knight !

Derry down down, hey derry down.

II.

Quoth he, “*Master-Tool*, it comes into my Head,
Of an Order of Knighthood I somewhere have read,
Which *Hottentots* — upon gladly embrace ;
And so will I too, for——that’s my very Case.

Derry down, &c.

III.

“ Then let the *Nonjurors* and *Jacobites* all,
The true *British Hottentots*, come and instal ; 10
And when they have liquor’d me duly and greast,
I hope they will call me *Sir Lowbred*, at least.

Derry down, &c.

IV.

“ This done, Sir, I’ll answer your Verses and Tricks
In Pages one Hundred and Fifty and Six ;

plentifully *bespatte’re*d in a very *ungenteel* and *indecent* Manner ; which he receives with great Alacrity, as the more *Indecency*, the more *Honour*. In a Light something analogous to this, I consider your Treatment of me, in a late Epistle to a Friend. The more Abuse, the more Honour ; the more Scurrility you have given vent to, the more Distinction you have paid me.”
—BYR.

3. *Like old Brother QUIXOTE.* See, in a letter to the *Chester Courant*, October 27th, 1746 (reprinted in *Manchester Vindicated*, pp. 5 seqq), remarking on the charges brought in a letter from Manchester in the *Whitehall Evening Post*

against Manchester and its Jacobite sympathies, as evinced by the popular cries and by the sympathy shown to the exposed remains of the executed rebels, following the passage : “ But let us play the *Sancho* a little with this *Don Quixote* of ours, and see whether Reason and Day-light will not discover these terrible Giants to be only a few innocent Fulling-Mills.”

5-8. *Quoth he, “MASTER-TOOL,” &c.*
“P. 4. *Jacobites* and *Nonjurors* I have always look’d upon as a Race of *British Hottentots*, as blind and bigotted as their Brethren about the *Cape*, but more savage in their Manners.”—BYR.

10. *Instal.* Be installed in it.

Nor will I stand much upon Reason and Sense,
For without, it shall cost you—a good Eighteen Pence.

Derry down, &c.

V.

“And, Sir, I must tell you that *Lowbred* is worse
Than impudent Puppy for me to impurse,
That Son of a —, and that Son of a —,
Would never have struck me—so quite to the Core. 20

Derry down, &c.

VI.

“In your six Rebel Lines if that Word had been mute,
The rest I should never have gone to confute ;
For I found that I could not, tho’, since they came out,
Never *Hottentot* twisted his Guts so about.

Derry down, &c.

VII.

“Pray why, *Master-Tool*, when you knew not my Person,
Would you venture my Works to entail such a Verse on?
And all, I beseech you, for what mighty Crimes ?
—Because that I would not speak Truth at all Times !

Derry down, &c.

17-19. “*And Sir, I must tell you,*” &c.
“P. 5. Impudent Puppy ; Son of a —
Son of a — ; are some other Figures
of Speech, which when decently inter-
larded with well-mouth’d Oaths, have done
excellent Service to your Cause.”

*How terribly this mortifying Term (Low-
bred) has gall’d our desperate Controver-
sialist, is manifest from his frequent Repeti-
tion of it with so much Wrath and Indigna-*

*tion quite to the End of his longwinded
Letter : And, I am sure, there is no need of
saying any Thing in Defence of its Pro-
priety to those who are the least acquainted
with his Polemic Performance.—BYR.*

22. *In your six Rebel lines.* The lines
are vv. 335-340 of *The Epistle to a Friend,*
ante, p. 352.

25-32. “*Pray, why, MASTER-TOOL,*”
&c. “P. 5. Why else so much Rage

VIII.

"Tho' I rail'd at your Townsmen without Fear or Wit,
And first abus'd you, Sir, for what you ne'er writ, 30
Yet ranting or raging, whoe'er I belied,
I must tell you, Sir, 'twas——on the *Government Side.*

Derry down, &c.

IX.

"So since you provoke me, Sir, into the Field,
I dare let you know, that I never shall yield ;

and Virulence express'd by you, Sir,
the Mouth and Master-Tool of the Faction,
in the Neighbourhood of Manchester,
against a Person to whom you are a Stranger?
Express'd against him; for what?"

This Person to whom we Manchester Folk, forsooth, are such Strangers, and who complains of being so unjustly attack'd, had long before the Publication of the Epistle to a Friend, not only descended to the low Reflections already mention'd, upon the Credit of a lying Paragraph in a paltry News-Paper; but had also publish'd in the Gentleman's Magazine (v. Suppl. for 1746), a false, scurrilous, low-bred Libel on the Town in general, and therein particularly abus'd, in the most opprobrious Terms, a Gentleman for writing a Paper, which he had no concern in, nor ever saw, till it appear'd in Print.

I must remind him too of the Story, which he there introduc'd of Dr. Deacon's absolving Justice Hall and Parson Paul at the Gallows, &c., &c., which (as well as other Particulars mention'd by him) was totally false and groundless, and which, tho' publicly call'd upon, he has neither had the Courage to attempt a Proof of, nor the Ingenuity and Candour to retract.—BYR.

30. *And first abus'd you, Sir, for what you ne'er writ.* See the Letter in the Supplement to the Gentleman's Magazine, 1746 (*Manchester Vindicated*, p. 35): "The Truth likewise is, as you'll have since confessed in the *Chester Courant* (for you'll not deny that both Papers boast of the same Author), that you have heard them cry *Down with the Jacobites at MANCHESTER* as loudly as down with the Rump, which, by the bye, is one of the Cries you never heard at all." Owen seems to have referred to one of the letters in the *Chester Courant* concerning the cries at Manchester "*Down with the Rump—Down with the Hanoverians, Presbyterians—Down with the K—g,*" concerning which manifestations there was much recrimination (see *Manchester Vindicated*, pp. 5, 27 et al.); but I cannot lay my hand on the particular letter in question, which he must have erroneously attributed to Byrom.

32-35. "*So, since you provoke me,"* &c. "P. 6. You have invited, you have provok'd me into the Field; and I dare let you know that I am not akin to your fugitive Hero; that I shall not flinch in the Combat."—BYR.

To your fugitive Hero I am not akin,
For I shall not endanger——one Inch of a Skin.

Derry down, &c.

X.

“I dare let you know, too, my humble Opinion
Of a Person that went to *Bologne*, or *Avignon*,
Or I cannot tell whither; but what he did there,
I took an Account of——from th’ Old *Chevalier*. 40

Derry down, &c.

XI.

“I dare let you know too, that Birds of a Feather,
Nonjurors and *Jacobites*, should flock together;
When in the same Centre I make them conjoint,
You cannot deny but——I speak to the Point.

Derry down, &c.

36-40. “*I dare let you know, too,*” &c.
“P. 7. Be it at *Bologne*, or *Avignon*, or
whatever other Place, that your vagrant
Idol keeps up the *mock* State of a
Court, I dare tell you that the Man who
visits it to procure an Absolution for
having abjur’d *Popery* and the Pretender,
and sworn Allegiance to King *GEORGE*,
and yet calls himself a good *Protestant* and
a good *Subject*, either affronts other Mens
Understandings, or betrays the Weakness
of his own.”—BYR.

38. *Of a Person that went to BOLOGNE
or AVIGNON.* Late in 1716 or early in
1717 Byrom left England for the South of
France, where he remained until some time
in 1718. Among his published letters are
some dated Montpellier, where he, pro-
fessedly at least, devoted himself to the
study of medicine and graduated doctor.

One of these letters is signed with a
feigned name, and “there is a mystery
about Byrom’s movements at this period
on which there are no papers to throw
any light. There can be little doubt
that politics had much to do with his
concealment.” (Canon Parkinson’s note
to *Remains*, i. 34.) The Old Cheva-
lier, after landing at Gravelines on Feb-
ruary 10th, 1716, proceeded by *Bou-
logne* and Abbeville to St. Germains,
but finding the neighbourhood of Paris
impossible to him, soon withdrew to
Avignon.

41-44. “*And now I have told you,*” &c.
“P. 7. I dare tell you that *Jacobites*
and *Nonjurors* should always herd to-
gether, that they pine after the *same* Yoke,
court the *same* Chains, and meet in the
same Centre.”—BYR.

XII.

“ And now I have told you, Sir, what I dare do,
 I’ll attack your Friend *D—c—n* by writing to you ;
 So then, if you please, you may stand by and look,
 And mark how I empty my Commonplace-Book.

Derry down, &c.

XIII.

“ I’ll mention my Authors both *Latin* and *Greek*,
 And all to what Purpose, I’ll leave you to seek : 50
Paracelsus, *Weigelius*, and eke your Friend *Behmen*
 You’ll hear of, and wonder—for what I brought them in.

Derry down, &c.

XIV.

“ Both Oculist *Taylor* and Mountebank *Green*
 Shall lend me a Query to humour the Spleen ;

49–52. “ *I’ll mention my Authors*,” &c.
 “ *P. 10.* A learned Writer observes
 that *Weigelius* and *Behmen*; your Ac-
 quaintance, *Jacob Behmen*, he must mean,
 were the Leaders of the *Fanatics* in *Ger-
 many*, and both these were pupill’d by
 one *Paracelsus* a Physician.”—BYR.

51. PARACELSIUS. Philip Theophras-
 tus von Hohenheim, called Aureolus
 Bombastus Paracelsus (1493–1541), the
 famous Platonist physicist and philoso-
 pher.

Ib. WEIGELIUS. Valentine Weigel
 (1533–1588), the author of *Philosophia
 Mystica* (1618).

Ib. BEHMEN. Jacob Böhme (1575–
 1624).

53. Oculist TAYLOR. “ The Chevalier
 Taylor, Ophthalmiator Pontifical, Im-
 perial and Royal, as he styled himself,”—

or, as Johnson styled him, “ the most
 ignorant man he ever knew ” among cele-
 brated and successful irregular practisers
 in physics ; and “ an instance how far
 impudence could carry ignorance.” (See
 Birkbeck Hill’s edition of Boswell’s *Life
 of Johnson*, iii. 389 and note.)

Ib. Mountebank GREEN. Possibly
 George Smith Green, mentioned in Ba-
 ker’s *Biographia Dramatica* (1812), I. 1,
 296, as “ a watchmaker of Oxford, and a
 man celebrated for his eccentricity.” He
 was the author, *inter alia*, of a specimen
 of a new version of *Paradise Lost* in blank
 verse “ by which,” he asserts, “ that
 amazing work is brought somewhat nearer
 the summit of perfection.”

53–56. “ *Both Oculist TAYLOR*,” &c.
 “ *P. 14.* Well spoken Doctor ! What
 could Dr. *Green*, the famous Stage

I'll quote from old Essays, *Hicks, Boulter and Baddam*,
And beyond all Exception will prove—that I had 'em.

Derry down, &c.

XV.

"As my Book, Sir, your Principles freely examines,
I'll talk about *Mussulmans, Hindoos, and Bramines*;
At *Pegu* and *Goa* your Pranks I'll display,
And quite rout the *Jacobites*—of *Paraguay*. 60

Derry down, &c.

XVI.

"I'll eke out my Pages with Stories and Tales,
To amuse the kind Reader when Argument fails,
And upon the *Nonjurors* so rarely will Joke,
I'll teach them to laugh—at a Man of my *Cloak*.

Derry down, &c.

Orator have said more! What could the eminent Dr. *Taylor*, the Oculist, have said more as to *couching a Cataract*, than this *Brother Doctor* of his has said, as to curing us of our *spiritual Blindness*!"

Essays quoted, p. 15. *Boulter quoted*, p. 17. *Hicks quoted* p. 18, 19, 20. *Baddam quoted* p. 22.—BYR.

55. *HICKS*. Dr. George *Hicks* (1642-1715) the nonjuring titular Bishop of *Thetford*, author of the *Thesaurus*.

Ib. BOULTER. Archbishop *Boulter* of *Dublin*, I presume (1672-1742), the famous pillar of the English interest in *Ireland*, whose *Letters* were published in two volumes at *Oxford* in 1769, under the editorship of his *quondam* secretary, *Ambrose Philips*.

Ib. BADDAM. I do not know who this "Baddam" or "Badham" was.

57-60. "As my Book," &c. See the Title of his Book, viz. *Jacobites and Non-juring Principles freely examin'd, and*

consider what a natural and necessary Connection it has with these farfetch'd Stories.—BYR.

59. *PEGU*. The Empire on the Irrawaddy, which in 1757 was overturned by the *Birmans*.

Ib. GOA. The capital of the Portuguese possessions in *India*, where the Roman Catholic religion was established with an intermixture of native customs.

60. *The JACOBITES . . . of PARAGUAY*. The *Jesuits* first came to *Paraguay*, but it was not till 1690 that they were established as its masters, by the decree of the Spanish Government forbidding anyone to enter their *Missiones* without their approval. They were expelled in 1767.

61-64. "I'll eke out my Pages," &c.
*Leave out his Jokes, and his long
Tales between,
The Rest—would hardly front a
Magazine*.—BYR.

XVII.

“When I battle old Churches, and Fathers and Saints,
Who furnish your Friend with his primitive Rants ;
I'll shew from their Doctrines, their Manners and Rites,
They were all Knaves and Fools, and in short——*Jacobites.*

Derry down, &c.

XVIII.

“I'll prove, that old Christians could never say true ;
That he who believes 'em, his Gospel is new ; 70
I'll silence whatever Tradition he vaunts
With Legends, and Fables,—and Travellers Traunts.

Derry down, &c.

XIX.

“On Sacraments, Mysteries, Miracles all
You'll see with what decent Expression I fall ;
The High-flying Churchman altho' it should shock,
What signifies that—if it please my own Flock ?

Derry down, &c.

64. *A Man of my Cloak.* The cloak long continued to form part of the ordinary costume of a clergyman or minister ; hence “a man of my cloak” is = “a man of my cloth.”

69-72. “*I'll prove, that old Christians,*” &c. “*P. 26.* The first Chapter I shall take Notice of in this *new Gospel*, is the Chapter of *Tradition.*”—BYR.

72. *Travellers' Traunts.* Travellers' trashy tales. To “traunt” is, according to Nares, “to traffic in an itinerary manner, like a pedlar.” “Bailey and some others,” he adds, “confine it to the carrying offish; but it is alleged to have been general.”

73-76. “*On Sacraments,*” &c. In treating of the Consecration of Water in Baptism, our good Protestant has the following remarkable Passage, p. 83 :

“Admitting, that neither Water nor length of Time will wash away Sin, yet it must be confess'd, that they'll do more, that is, they'll prevent it. They'll prevent the crying Sin—of premeditated Murder, by washing away the Charms of antiquated Maids and Faces !”

Again, speaking of our Saviour's washing the Apostles Feet :

“Tho' indeed amidst all his Zeal for Hieroglyphic Piety, he would be at a loss

XX.

“Pray, what were these Fathers that make such a Fuss,
But the merest old Mothers and Children to us,
Who without a Succession have learnt to succeed,
And to save our new Converts without an old Creed? 80

Derry down, &c.

XXI.

“An honest good Protestant freely will ask,
What Bus’ness the Church has to set him a Task,

to instruct us, what washing of Feet should be a *Sign* of, unless it be a Sign—that they want it.”

Again, p. 93:

“*Confirmation* is a Deed of Gift, whereby by the *Bishop* (or in Case of Necessity the *Priest*) makes you a *Conveyance* of the *Holy Ghost*.⁷⁷”

“*Unction of the Sick* is for the recovery of Health, and for Strength to *out-cudgel* the Devil.” *Ibid.*

“*Holy Orders* furnisheth “*Spiritual Fathers* for the *Church*,” and sometimes *natural ones too.*” *Ibid.*—BYR.

75. *The High-flying Churchman.* As late as the year 1704, Bishop Burnet spoke in Parliament of the expression “High Churchman” as a “new term of distinction,” and professed himself to “know no High Church but the Church of Rome.” (Cf. J. H. Burton’s *History of the Reign of Queen Anne* (1880), i. 89, note.) I do not know that attention has ever been directed to the odd blunder common among German writers, including Ranke, who speak of “the High-Church of England” when meaning “the State-Church.”

77–80. “*Pray, What were these Fathers,*” &c. “*Pp. 28, 29.* But were all the Fathers to be enlisted into this *Gentleman’s Service*,—what would that prove? What,

but this, that these *Fathers* of the Church, as some affect to call them, were *mere Children* in Understanding. These *Fathers*, whose Names are so venerable, whose Doctrines are so infallible, and whose Authority is so sacred,—who, or what were they? They were a Set of *weak*, but one would hope *well-designing* Men, who entertain’d ten thousand wild and ridiculous Fancies, foolish and extravagant Opinions, which they believ’d themselves, and palm’d upon others, who had Credulity enough to *believe upon their Authority*, for the Doctrines of Religion. They said, and unsaid the same Things, solemnly contradicted each other; instead of arguing they allegoriz’d; they rav’d instead of reasoning; and did all in the *Name of The Lord.*”

“P. 30. These venerable *Fathers*, or if you please, venerable *Mothers*, of your learned Friend’s *Catholic Church.*”

“P. 27. ‘Tis entirely foreign to my Purpose, to ransack the Reveries of the *Fathers*. To seek for unadulterated, sound Learning, and good Sense among them, would be as absurd and fruitless, as to ransack for Jewels in a Dunghill.”—BYR.

79. *Without a Succession.* Viz., an Apostolical Succession.

81–84. “*An honest, good Protestant,*” &c. “P. 119. The honest *Protestant*

Since he can be sav'd without so much ado,
Tho' a Stranger to her—and an Infidel too.

Derry down, &c.

XXII.

"I'll prove that your Friend is the POPE'S younger Brother,
Because they both militate one against t'other ;
That, for the same Reason, your Church's best Friends
Are they that will fight for *Non-Con. Reverénds.*

Derry down, &c.

XXIII.

"As I am of the Gospel a Minister made,
Of Smut and Profaneness he'll think I'm afraid ;
But thro' my whole Book the blind Bigot shall see,
That under King GEORGE we are totally free.

90

Derry down, &c.

will ask, Will it not be sufficient for a Man if he endeavours to pay a sincere and uniform Regard to the *Commands of God*; tho' he should be a *Stranger*, or even an *Infidel* as to the *Commands* of the *Church*? Cannot *God* save me without the *Church's Consent*, or the *Church's Interposition?*"

—BYR.

85-88. "I'll prove that your Friend," &c. "P. 33. But then, what must we do, when we find that the *Pope's Catholic Church*, and the *Nonjurors Catholic Church* militate against each other?"—BYR.

89-92. "As I am of the Gospel a Minister," &c. "P. 61. Pity but these *Symbol Religionists* would now and then look towards *Golgotha* in their Devotions; would it not exhibit their own Likeness, under the Symbol of the *Place of Sculls?*"

"P. 77. If our learned Catechist would follow the Instructions of St. James in

annointing the Sick, why doth he not likewise follow the Example of our *Saviour*, when he is summon'd to attend them, and ride on—an Ass?"

"P. 81. Nature before the Fall was in her *Virgin State*, but the Disobedience of our first Parents *deflower'd* her. However, our *Consecrator*,—our *Spiritual Conjuror*, I should have said (only out of reverence to his high *Ecclesiastical Dignities* and *Function*)—can restore *lost Goods*. He'll restore to Nature her *lost Virgin-Charms* and *Purity*."

These are some few of the Flowers, which, under the present Sunshine of Liberty, have so plentifully sprung up in this Book of our Divinity-Licentiate; and how reconcileable sever they may be to the Latitudinarian Principles of the modern Presbyterian, we must certainly acquit them of having any thing of the old Puritan in them.

As for other Smut-Passages, the Reader

XXIV.

"I'll print in great Letters his Majesty's Name,
And who then but Rebels can think me to blame?
He must be a *Felton* or *French Ravaillac*,
That falls upon such a prime *Minister's* Back.

Derry down, &c.

XXV.

"To give to a Church or a Priest any Gift,
I'll prove is not saving or Protestant Thrift ;

must excuse the not citing of them, as they are not fit to appear, even in Company with a Ballad.—BYR.

90. *Smut and Profaneness.* It must be remarked, in justice to Mr. Owen's conscience, that there is no trace in his Letter of "Smut" or "Profaneness" from his own point of view—or, I feel bound to add, from that of a good many other people less sensitive in some Directions than Byrom.

93-96. "I'll print in great Letters," &c. "P. 155. Permit me in particular, to call upon you, to challenge you, to father your intellectual *Brats*, and not turn them adrift like a *Bastard Race* that dare not confess their *Parentage*. The Assassin that stabs and murders Reputations in the dark, who knows but by Degrees he may commence a *Felton*, or a *Ravilliac*?"

How near akin the Sin of an anonymous Poet may be to that of a Murderer and an Assassin, I shall leave this casuistic Knight to determine; but, I fancy, he'll forgive it, when he recollects the Answer that St. Robin's infallible Magazine gave to a Challenge of the same Nature, and the manner in which his own Brat in the Gentleman's Magazine made its Entry into the World.

—BYR.

95. *FELTON.* John Felton, the assas-

sin, from private motives, of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (August 23rd, 1628).

Ib. FRENCH RAVAILLAC. François Ravaillac (whom Byrom spells "Ravilliac"), the fanatical assassin of Henry IV. of France (May 14th, 1610).

96. *That falls upon such a Prime MINISTER'S Back.* *Autres temps, autres mœurs.* The Pretender was charitably reported to have "sent at least a hundred letters, which were transmitted to his friends, in November, 1711, and of which the purport was to engage them to use all possible endeavours, in order to compass Walpole's demolition" (cf. Coxe's *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford* (edition of 1816), iv. 240, note). I am not, however, aware that any of these letters is supposed to have suggested the shortest and readiest way towards the end in view.

97-100. "To give to a Church," &c. "P. 121. Here, Sir, you see, that what is given to the *Priest*, is given to the Lord, and that the *Priest*, like him whose Representative he is, loveth a *cheerful and liberal Giver*."

"P. 36. *Tinsel Sanctity*, instead of *sterling Piety and Devotion*."—BYR.

To give not at all is a Sign of good Sense ;
 True Sterling Devotion——ne'er parts with the Pence. 100
Derry down, &c.

XXVI.

“ Queen Anne for poor Clergy establish’d a Pension,
 And the Consequence future I——dread, Sir, to mention ;
 For should it last always unto the World’s End,
 It will all come to you and your Catholic Friend.

Derry down, &c.

XXVII.

“ ’Tis enough that amongst a huge fabulous Host.
 I have brought in St. *Grat* to provide you a Post ;
 The Rats all around he exorcis’d away,
 And furnish’d my Letter with——something to say.

Derry down, &c.

XXVIII.

“ I have made you preferr’d for your eminent Slyness
 To be Ratcatcher Gen’ral to young Royal Highness : 110

101-104. “ *Queen Anne*, ” &c. “ *P.* tinction, exorcis’d away all the Rats found
 122. Queen *Anne*, in the third Year in the Country of *Aost*, and three Miles
 of her Reign, settled the Revenue arising round it.”—BYR. Cf. *Introductory Note*.
 from such *First Fruits*, and *Tenths*, as
 a perpetual Fund for the Augmentation
 of *poor Livings*, and the better Maintenance
 of the *poorer Clergy*, whereby they
 have once more reverted to the *Church*.
 This *Grant*, however useful it may be at
 present, should it always be continued, the
 Consequences that may arise from it in
 future Ages, I——dread to mention ; but
 you, and your *Catholic Friend* will mention
 with Pleasure.”—BYR.

105-108. “ *’Tis enough,* ” &c. “ *P. 56.*
 ”*Tis recorded among the Papists that St.*
Grat, a Saint of great Eminence and Dis-

tinction, exorcis’d away all the Rats found
 in the Country of *Aost*, and three Miles
 round it.”—BYR. Cf. *Introductory Note*.
 106. *St. Grat.* I have been unable to
 find any trace of this saint (*Gratianus*,
Gratiosus?) or of his connexion with the
 ancient city of Aosta in Piedmont. As to
 Byrom’s sally cf. the following passage
 in the *Preface* to Owen’s *Letter*: “ Thus,
 as the py’d Piper of Hamel (so-call’d from
 his parti-colour’d Dress and his Occupation)
 charm’d away all Music, so our
 Poetical Scaramouch would chase out of
 our Land, to adopt his own expression,
 all Hanover Rats with a Ballad.”

109-112. “ *I have made you preferred,* ”
 &c. “ *P. 57.* Now as your learned *Friend*

You may teach your *Old England* this Trick of St. *Grat's* ;
Oh ! How she would clear us of *Hanover Rats* !

Derry down, &c.

XXIX.

"Then *Britain* would bargain with *France's* old Dupe,
And we all should be ruin'd as round as a Hoop ;
Our Wives, Money, Conscience, Estates they would rifle ;
Were it but the Wives only——that is but a Trifle !

Derry down, &c.

XXX.

" And now, *Master-Tool*, I'll begin to conclude
With a Touch on your Rimes, now your Friend is subdu'd ;
To *Prynne* in the *Dunciad* I'll match you at once,
And give in my Notes all the Proofs——of a Dunce. 120

Derry down, &c.

can initiate you into all the Mysteries of *Exorcism*, what think you, if you should be rewarded for your distinguish'd Zeal, with the Post of *Ratcatcher General* to his R—y—l H—gh—ss ?"—BYR.

113—116. " *Then BRITAIN would bargain*," &c. " *P. 142.* Should *France's* Dupe become *Britain's* King, 'tis not our Wives only that must be ravish'd from us; no, we must be robb'd of every Property ; of our Estates, our Consciences, &c." — BYR.

113. *FRANCE's old Dupe.* The Old Pretender.

116. *Were it but the Wives only—that is but a Trifle.* This is almost as good as Mr. Croaker : in GOLDSMITH'S *Good-Natured Man*, Act I. Sc. i : " *Honeywood*. The Jesuits will scarce pervert you and me, I should hope. Croaker.—May be not. Indeed what signifies whom they pervert in a country that has scarce any

religion to lose ! I'm only afraid for our wives and daughters. *Honeywood*.—I have no apprehension for the ladies, I assure you. *Croaker*.—May be not. Indeed what signifies whether they be perverted or not ! The women in my time were good for something, &c."

117—120. " *And now, MASTER-TOOL*," &c. " *P. 152.* Lowbred ! Bravely scorn Sir to have any Thing low about you, but your Wit and your Poetry. Those are low, extremely low be sure ! These remind me of *William Prynne*, I ask Pardon for comparing you to a *fanatical Scribbler*, who in reward of his Disloyalty, had his Ears closely clipp'd as his Muse's Wings. I would not insinuate, I do not mean that the *Comparison* should hold good throughout. But his Poetry, as painted in the *Dunciad*, runs in smooth and harmonious Strains like yours."— BYR.

XXXI.

“ Many different Cities disputed full hard
 Which of them gave Birth to the *Grecian* blind Bard ;
 But this Poetaster one cannot disrank,
 Whose plaguy Prose-Verses have made me look blank.

Derry down, &c.

XXXII.

“ O thrice happy *Manchester*, thou hast thy *Homer*,
 Thy own Ballad-maker, without a Misnomer :
 With Mince-pies and Jellies his Glory shall gee,
 And mine—if he’ll make but a Ballad on me.

Derry down, &c.

XXXIII.

“ I’ll lend him an Engine to further his Fame,
 That an old Friend of mine has just put in a Frame : 130
 He may by this new and ingenious Machine,
 Grind Verses by Dozens—two Millstones between.

Derry down, &c.

119. PRYNNE in the DUNCIAD. See a *Ballad-maker* of thy own, whose Merit
The Dunciad, i. 103 :

“ She saw old Prynne in restless Daniel
 shine ; ”

and Pope’s amiable note : “ Much more
 justly is Daniel ” (Defoe) “ himself made
 successor to W. Pryn, both of whom wrote
 Verses as well as Politics. And both
 these writers had a semblance in their
 fates as well as writings, having been alike
 sentenced to the Pillory.”

121-128. “ *Many different cities*, ” &c.
 “ P. 153. Many different Cities dis-
 poned the Honour of having given Birth
 to the old blind *Grecian* Bard. But
 oh ! *Manchester, undisputed, unrivall’d*
 be thy Glory, who hast a modern *Homer*,

“ P. 152. Note (a). The following
 Specimens of our Author’s *Prose-Verses* will
 justify the Observation above.”—BYR.

129-132. “ *I’ll lend him an Engine*, ”
 &c. “ P. 153. Shall I recommend to you
Sir, for the further Promotion and Estab-
 lishment of your *Poetical Glory*, a Machine
 that is now contriving by a very *ingenious*
 Friend of mine, wherewith to make Verses
 by the Dozen. It may be greatly useful
 to relieve Poverty of *Measures* and *Inven-*
tion, in different Classes of Writers ; from
 your *Courant, Three-Halfpenny Wits*, up,

XXXIV.

"Of all your poor Writers 'tis worth the Regard,
From the *Chester Courant* to your *Twelvepenny Bard* ;
If he honours me then, as I hope that he will,
I'm resolv'd to write on—and bring Grist to the Mill."

Derry down, &c.

XXXV.

Now who could refuse such a Challenge as this ?
The Mill it has ground, and the Verse here it is ;
And the Zealot of *Rochdale*, whene'er he thinks proper,
May write on, and throw himself—into the Hopper. 140

Derry down, &c.

XXXVI.

In spite of all Mischief that he can contrive,
Let Peace and good Neighbourhood flourish and thrive,
So—blest be the Hearts of all *Manchester Men*,
And adieu! the Knight Scribbler, *Sir LOWBRED O . . N.*

Derry down, down, hey derry down !

I should rather say *down*, as they sink in proportion to their *Size*, to your *Quarto Twelvepenny Poetaster*.”—BYR.

133—136. “*Of all your poor Writers*,” &c. “*P. 155.* If you do me *further Honour*, as I am in *Expectance* you will ; I shall be glad to return it in all *faithful* and *becoming Homage*.”—BYR.

134. *From the CHESTER Courant to your Twelvepenny Bard.* As to the *Chester*

Courant, see *Introductory Note* to the next piece. The “*Twelvepenny Bard*” alludes to the circumstance that *The Epistle to a Friend*, as the fly-leaf before the title-page announces, was sold at the price of one shilling.

140. *The Hopper.* The box or open frame of wood into which the corn is put to be ground (*JOHNSON'S Dictionary*).

AGAINST AN UNGALLANT MODERN ROUNDHEAD.

[At the end of a letter to his wife from London, dated May 20th, 1749, Byrom writes : "So with thanks for the packet of ringing and ribaldry I must conclude ; but in return for Q. D.'s speech I'll stay to write out one that was made by a friend of hers, who had the perusal of it." (*Remains*, ii. 489.) Thus the following lines, presumably by Byrom, refer to some Whig squib against the Jacobite ladies at Manchester, and apparently to some comments on it by "Q. D." [Queen Dolly?] Cf. the last two stanzas of *The Manchester Rebels, a new Song, to the Tune of "The Abbot of Canterbury"* which appeared in the *Chester Courant* of February 24th, 1747, and is reprinted in *Manchester Vindicated*, p. 155 :

"There's one Thing besides, you must know by the bye,
To add to our Plagues : there's a numerous Fry
Of young Rebel Imps,— little impudent Things,
With 'God bless P. C.' on their *Pincushion Strings*.

"Now, God keep us all from this Infidel Race,
Or send, to support us, a little more Grace ;
May all *Jacobite* Knaves be truss'd up in a Lump
That dare for the future shout '*Down with the Rump*'!

Derry down, &c.]

WELL, Sirs ! such a rimer, so horribly stupid,
Sure never bore quills against Venus and Cupid.

In his hints when the ladies no meaning could find,
Now at last in plain terms he has told 'em his mind.

"Down with th' RUMP" is the business ;—whereof the mere letter
Has robbed of all patience this impotent fretter.

How the spring and the stars make the maggots engender,
And wade through the wits of this shallow pretender !

'Tis the year forty-nine too,—so wonder no more
At the nonsense revolved of the Roundheads of yore !

10

9. *The year forty-nine.* The centenary wealth, the rising of the Levellers, &c., of the establishment of the Common- &c.

TO THE EARL OF HARRINGTON: AN
APPEAL FOR MERCY.

A FRAGMENT.

[See *Remains*, ii. 456, note, where it is stated that “as the whole of this translation cannot be recovered, the paper being much worn, a few verses only are given as a specimen.” Byrom, on August 4th, 1748, wrote in shorthand from London to his daughter Dorothy (*ib.*, 455): ‘Dear Dolly: I thank thee for thy letter which I received yesterday, and it was very prettily written; as soon as I had read it, I thought of sending thee the Latin verses in English, as you are not so book-learned as to understand them in the Original. I have not such good hopes as I had of the young boy” [Charles Deacon, one of the ‘Manchester rebels’ taken at Carlisle in December, 1745] “being set at liberty upon whose account they were made; he has some enemies or other that have represented him in so ill a light, that I much question at present, if he will meet with the favour which has been so long expected, except affairs shall take a turn with relation to him [other] than I was told they had done. But I am not sorry that I have spoken my thoughts about him as opportunity offered; and so I will write thee out the English of the Latin, which I was obliged to pick up from memory, having sent Mr. Thyer my copy; and having only last night and this morning to translate them in, I have been forced to hurry them along, and must haste to copy them for thee to [try] thy skill in reading.” The Latin original, to which it is perhaps needless to say that the English version, so far as recovered, is infinitely superior, will be found among Byrom’s Latin verse near the end of this volume; where an account is given of the circumstances under which the “Ode” was composed.]

I.

A PPLAUSED Viceroy of Ierne’s isle,
Spare, for your brother’s sake, the poet’s style,
If an *extempore* address like this
Should aught contain presumptuous or amiss !

II.

Your courteous and obliging turn of mind,
 With that of other candid nobles joined,
 Has struck an eager Muse, who cannot yet
 The joyous talk of yesterday forgot.

* * * *

III.

Three brothers—I shall only speak the truth,—
 Three brothers, hurried by mere dint of youth,
 Incautious youth, were found in arms of late,
 And rushing on to their approaching fate.

10

IV.

One, in a fever, sent up to be tried,
 From jail to jail delivered over, died ;
 Sick and distressed, he did not long sustain
 The mortal shocks of motion and of pain.

* * * *

V.

The third was then a little boy at school,
 That played the truant from the rod and rule ;
 The child, to join his brothers, left his book
 And arms, alas ! instead of apples took.

20

VI.

Now lies confined the poor unhappy lad—
 For death mere pity and mere shame forbade,—
 Long time confined, and waiting Mercy's bail
 Two years amidst the horrors of a jail.

VII.

I spare to mention what, from fact appears,
The boy has suffered in these fatal years ;
Pity, at least, becomes his iron lot ;—
What ruin is there that a jail has not ?

VIII.

He is my countryman, my noble lords,
And room for hope your genius affords.
Be truly noble ; hear a well-meant prayer,
And deign my fellow-citizen to spare !

30

* * * *

IX.

Think, what the Sovereign Lord of all demands,
The King of kings, from His vicegerent's hands ;
His Will, as ages after ages run,
His Holy Will eternally be done !

* * * *

X.

God grant to every nation every bliss,
But, Britons, more especially to this ;
Lastly, in health and wealth and peace and rest,
Thy people, parent Manchester, be blest !

40

29. *He is my countryman.* He belongs to my own county. A common Elisa- bethan use.

34. *From His vicegerent's hands.* A fine turn, not in the original Latin.

TO LADY B—— W——,

UPON HER PRESENTING THE AUTHOR WITH THE MOIETY OF
A LOTTERY-TICKET.

[Although the length of the interval which has elapsed since the date of the following letter to the late Mr. J. E. Bailey may be held to reflect unfavourably upon myself, as editor of these *Poems*, it is, I think, worth preserving in this place :

“Arley Hall, Northwich, Cheshire,
14 May, 1886.

My dear Sir,

Having just had read to me again a notice of the new Chetham Society, I find it is proposed to publish another edition of Byrom's poems. I merely write this short line to ask you whether it is generally known that the ‘Lines addressed to Lady B. W. on her presenting the author with a lottery ticket’ are meant for Lady Betty Warburton? . . .

Yours very sincerely,
R. E. EGERTON-WARBURTON.”

Mr. Rowland Eyles Egerton-Warburton died on December 5th, 1891, after a long and honourable career. Full justice was done to his literary accomplishments in the interesting record of his life and works published in the *Manchester Guardian* of December 9th following. Without, however, adverting either to earlier or to later traditions of the ancient family so admirably represented during his life by Mr. Egerton-Warburton (who had assumed his second surname on succeeding in 1813 to the estates of his great-uncle Sir Peter Warburton, Bart.), I content myself with noting that the Lady Betty Warburton to whom the following verses are addressed, was the wife of the fourth baronet, Sir Peter Warburton of Arley Hall, and the daughter of Edward eleventh Earl of Derby (see Collins' *Peerage of England*, 5th edition, iii. 81). The date of her marriage was March 1st, 1746. Portraits of herself and of her father are among the family portraits at Arley. According to a memoir of *The Warburtons of Arley*, reprinted by the late

Mr. Bailey from the *Papers of the Manchester Literary Club* (Manchester, 1881) Lady Elisabeth, or "Betty," Warburton, besides being acquainted with Byrom, "patronised another of our local notabilities in the person of Elisabeth Raffald (*née* Whitaker), the authoress of the well-known cookery-book called *The Experienced English House-Keeper* and of the first Manchester Directory," and the wife, from 1765, of John Raffald, supposed to have been the head-gardener at Arley Hall. "The first edition of the cookery-book, which appeared in 1769, when the writer kept a confectioner's shop at the corner of Exchange Alley, in Manchester, was dedicated 'To the Hon. Lady Elisabeth Warburton, whom the author lately served as House-Keeper;' and it went through a large number of editions." "Sir Peter," adds Mr. Bailey, "died at Arley in 1744; but his wife survived until 1780, dying at Knutsford on August 24th."

From the above notes it results that the date of the following stanzas was posterior—probably by several years—to 1746. An early memorandum in Byrom's *Diary* (*s.d.* Easter Sunday, March 28th, 1725) suggests that lottery-tickets were not among the vanities with which Byrom as a matter of principle refused to have any concern: although of course the wager offered by him to with his friend Clowes on the abstruse problem "how many tickets there were counting from number 79 to number 84" might have been laid by total abstainers (see *Remains*, i. 102).

The practice of "dividing" lottery-tickets, common in this country down to the earlier part of the present century, still survives in Italy, where the *tombola* is a genuinely national institution.]

I.

"THIS Ticket is to be divided".—Well;
To Lady Betty let these Presents tell
How much I value, Chances all apart,
This gentle token of her friendly Heart!
Without regard to Prizes or to Blanks,
My Obligation is immediate Thanks;
And here they come as hearty and as free,
As this unlook'd-for Favour came to me.

II.

“ Five Thousand Pounds, perhaps, a handsome Sum!”
 Ay, but in Specie *Five* may never come ! 10
 That, as you please, Dame Fortune ! In my Mind
 I have already taken it in kind ;
 Am quite contented with my present Lot,
 Whether you’re pleas’d to second it, or not.
 Chance is but Chance, however great or small ;
 The Spirit of a loving Gift is all.

III.

Three Tickets offer’d, to make choice of one,
 And write the Memorandum thereupon,
 Spread in successive order as they lie :—
 “ May all be Prizes, for her sake,” thought I. 20
 That upon which my Fancy chose to fix,
 Was (let me see) Four hundred fifty-six :
 Four, five, and six—they are, if I can read,
 Numbers that *regularly should succeed*.

IV.

Thou backward Fortune, that in Days of Yore
 Hast read from six to five, from five to four,
 Once, for the Lady’s sake, reverse thy Spite,
 And trace a luckier Circle to the right !
 If thou art angry that I should despise
 Thy Gifts, which never dazzl’d much my Eyes ; 30
 Now speak me fair, nor let th’ Occasion slip
 Of such an honourable Partnership !

24. THAT REGULARLY SHOULD SUC- thor’s) will, it is hoped, prevent the pun
CEED. The Italics (which are the au- from remaining unnoticed.

V.

Stand still a Moment on thy Bridge's Pier,
And the Conditions of Success let's hear ;
Say what the Bard shall offer at thy Shrine,—
Any thing less than Worship,—and 'tis thine!
If not so quite (as they relate thee) blind,
See both our Names, which thus together join'd,
I'd rather *share* Ten Thousand Pounds, I own,
Than court thee for ten Millions *alone!*

40

VI.

"Thousands and Millions, Sir, are pompous Sounds
For Poets, seldom conversant in Pounds."—
Yes ; but I'm only looking on th' Event
As corresponding to a kind Intent.
Should it turn out its Thousands, more or less,
I should be somewhat puzzl'd, I profess,
And must upon a Case so new, so nice,
Fly to my Benefactress for Advice.

VII.

"What shall I do with such a monstrous Prize ?"
But we'll postpone the Question, till it rise ;

50

34. While the.—B.
37, 38. Thou'rt not, as they describe thee, quite gone blind,
Our names thou canst see here.—B.
39, 40. I'd rather they Ten Thousand Pounds should own,
Than court thee for ten Million Pounds *alone*.—B.
41, 42. Transposed in B. 43. Viewing the event.—B.
48. I must.—B. 53. I'm rich.—B.

33. *On thy Bridge's Pier.* There may burton "in the old hall of Wise Piers" possibly be an allusion to the "large (See J. E. Bailey, *The Warburtons of alterations*" carried out by Sir Peter War- Arley, p. 19).

Let its Tomorrow manage that!—Today,
Accept the Thanks which I am bound to pay:
Enrich'd, if you permit me still to share
Your wish of Welfare, and your gen'rous Care!
The greatest Bliss, if I have any Skill,
Of human Life is mutual Good-will.

VIII.

This, without Question, has your Hand confess;
This, without Flatt'ry, warms a willing Breast;
So much good Nature shown with so much Ease,
Bestow your Sums, Dame Fortune, where you please! 60
That kind of Satisfaction which I feel,
Comes not within the Compass of your Wheel;
No Prize can heighten the unpurchas'd Grace,
Nor Blanks the grateful Sentiments efface.

58. Your willing.—B.

THOUGHTS ON RIME AND BLANK VERSE.

[The date at which the following stanzas were written is only very approximately determined by the first two lines, which refer to the controversy between the merits of rime and blank verse as being then in progress. I may be excused from entering on the present occasion into the general merits of the question on which this controversy turned, and on which two poets of high eminence had written a century and a half before; — Campion in his *Art of Poesy*, and Daniel in his *Defence of Rime*. As a matter of fact, blank verse had recovered its position as the accepted form of English dramatic verse in the middle of the career of Dryden, the great master of the heroic couplet throughout the whole range of English poetic literature, which at that time included the drama. Indeed, it has been truly said, that rime held its own on the stage just so long as Dryden chose to employ it there, and no longer; and the supposition that the rimed couplet on the stage was extinguished by the satire of *The Rehearsal*, is as erroneous as the popular legend that the Heroic drama itself, of which that couplet was the chief ornament, was killed by the same amusing farce.]

In epic and didactic poetry the great exemplar whose verses Dryden had “tagged” found few followers of mark in the earlier half of the eighteenth century. The poets who in this period ventured upon blank verse were on the whole unable to differentiate the use of this metre by variety and natural grace from the contemporary management of the heroic couplet. This may be asserted, though not to the same degree in each instance, of Young and Thomson, of Akenside and of Glover. Thus, the question practically still remained an open one, and as such appears about the middle of the century once more to have occupied the leisure of people of literary tastes. Byrom’s Library contains an *Essay* by John Mason of Cheshunt, Herts, an accomplished scholar who wrote copiously on elocution and versification, as well as on ethics, *On the Power of Numbers and Principles of Harmony in Poetical Composition.*

(8vo. London. Second edition, 1761.) This essay, which ably discusses “the several things that enter into the Construction of English Verse,” without including rime, is followed by a companion *Essay on the Power and Harmony of Prosaic Numbers*, the effect of which, as to the controversy here in question, may perhaps be regarded as double-edged. The side which Byrom would take in any contention between rime and blank verse was practically predetermined. Although he records his having in the year 1725 paraphrased in blank verse the passages concerning the Resurrection in 1 Corinthians, xv. (*Remains*, i. 98), this, so far as I am aware, was his single attempt at writing English verse in an unrimed metre. On the other hand, his pen ran as of itself into rime, which he elsewhere (*Epistle to a Friend on the Art of English Poetry*, l. 18) charmingly describes as the “sweetest grace of English verse.” The animated, though amicable, literary contest on the relative claims of rime and blank verse, into which some time before 1755 he entered with an adversary as worthy as himself, will be described below. His ensuing apology for rime must be allowed to be on the whole judicious, and deserving of notice by the intending authors of Newdigates and such-like compositions, who more frequently attempt the unrimed metre than excel in it.]

I.

WHAT a deal of impertinent Stuff at this Time
 Comes out about Verses in Blank or in Rime,
 To determine their Merits by critical Prose,
 And treat the two Parties, as if they were Foes!—
 Its allotting so gravely, to settle their Rank,
 All the Bondage to Rime, all the Freedom to Blank,
 Has provok'd a few Rimes to step forth, and repress
 The pedantical Whim, grown to such an excess;—

II.

Not to hinder the Duples of this fanciful Wit
 From retailing its Maxims, whene'er they think fit;

10

2. Blank and in.—B. 5. The allotting so gravely, for settling.—B.
 6. Rhyme and all freedom.—B.

But to caution young Bards, if in danger to waste
Any Genius for Verse on so partial a Taste,
That, allowing to Blank all the real Pretence
To what Freedom it has, if supported by Sense,
For Words without any, they may not neglect
Of as free flowing Rime the delightful Effect.

III.

Here are two special Terms which the Sophisters mingle,
To be Sauce for the rest,—to wit, Fetters, and Jingle ;
And, because a weak Writer may chance to expose
Very ill-chosen Words to such Phrases as those, 20
The unthinking Reflecters sit down to their Rote,
And pronounce against Rime th' undistinguishing Vote.
Sole Original this, in the petulant School,
Of its idle Objections to Metre and Rule !

IV.

For to what other Fetters are Verses confin'd,
Whether made up of blank or of metrical Kind ?

13. That (while to blank verse is allow'd the.—B.
14. Which to freedom it claims.—B. 15. *Any*, may never.—B.
16. Of Rhyme fully flowing the pleasing.—B.

13-16. While granting whatever claims sensible blank-verse actually possesses to the quality of freedom of movement, young poets ought not to give up the same advantage belonging to rime merely in order to write nonsense (in blank verse).

16. *The Sophisters.* Cf. *The Dunciad*, ii. 379-381 :
“Three College Sophs, and three pert
Templars came,

The same their talents, and their tastes
the same,
Each prompt to query, answer, and debate.”
A Sophister is properly a disputant at an exercise of dialectics; hence the special application of the term in the University of Cambridge.

21. The unthinking critics (or authors of *Reflexions on*, &c.,) sit down to the part they have learnt by heart.

26. *Metrical.* I.e., rimed.

If a Man has not Taste for poetical Lines,
 Can't he let them alone, and say what he designs
 Upon some other Points in his unfetter'd Way,
 And contemn, if he will, all numerical Lay? 30
 But the Fashion, forsooth, must affect the Sublime,
 The Grand, the Pathetic, and rail against Rime.

V.

Blank Verse is the Thing ;—tho', whoever tries both,
 Will find of its Fetters a plentiful Growth ;
 Many Chains to be needful to measure his Ground
 And keep the Sublime within requisite Bound.
 If a laudable Product in Rime should, perhaps,
 Extort an Applause from these exquisite Chaps,
 They express it so shyly, for fear of a Fetter:
 "Had the Rime been neglected, it would have been better." 40

VI.

And so they begin with their Jingle or Rattle
 (As some of them call it) the delicate Battle ;
 "The Sense must be cramp'd," they cry out, "to be sure,
 By the Nature of Rime, and be render'd obscure."
 As if Blank, by its Grandeur and magnified Pause,
 Was secure in its Freedom from any such Flaws ;
 Tho' so apt in bad Hands to give Readers Offence,
 By the rattling of Sound and the darkness of Sense !

39. It quite shyly.—B.

40. The work had been.—B.

43, 44. "By the nature of Rhyme," they cry, "to be sure,
 The sense must be cramped and render'd obscure."—B.

29. *In his unfetter'd Way.* Oratione suppose, the *caesura* or pause which invites *solutio*, in prose.

45. *Magnified Pause.* Byrom means, I warranted by its significance in the sentence.

VII.

All the Arguments form'd, as they prose it along,
And twist them and twine against metrical Song, 50
Presuppose the poor Maker to be but a Dunce ;
For, if that be not true, they all vanish at once.
If it be, what Advantage has Blank in the Case
From counting bad Verses by Unit or Brace ?
Nothing else can result from the critical Rout,
But "A Blockhead's a Blockhead, with Rime or without."

VIII.

It came, as they tell us, from ignorant Moors,
And by Growth of fine Taste will be turn'd out o'Doors ;—
Two insipid Conceits, at a Venture entwin'd,
And void of all Proof both before and behind ! 60
Too old its Reception to tell of its Age ;
Its Downfall, if Taste could but fairly presage,
When the Bees of the Country make Honey no more,
Will then certainly come,—not a Moment before.

49, 50. Against metrical song

And twisted and turn'd as they prose it along.—B.

51. *Maker.* Poet. So Puttenham, in the opening sentence of his *Arte of English Poesie* : "A Poet is as much to say as a maker." Cf. Dunbar's "*Lament for the Makaris.*"

56. *It came, as they tell us, from ignorant Moors.* This theory (with the omission of the preposterous epithet) is developed by Sismondi in vol. i. of his *History of the Literature of the South of Europe.* It is clear, however, from Sismondi's own presentation of the case, that

there can be no question of attributing to the Arabians, or any other people, the introduction of rime as a *non-essential* element of poetry. See on this head Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* (3rd ed., 1863), i. 454, note.

64. *Will then certainly come,—not a Moment before.* This recalls the ancient jest : "My poems will be remembered when Homer's [Shakspere's, Tennyson's, &c., &c.,] are forgotten." "And not before."

IX.

Till then it will reign ;—and while, here and there spread,
 Blank Verse, like an Aloë, rears up its Head,
 And, fresh from the Hot-house, successfully tow'rs
 To make People stare at the Height of its Flow'rs,
 The Variety, Sweetness, and Smoothness of Rime
 Will flourish, bedeck'd by its natural Clime
 With numberless Beauties, and frequently shoot,
 If cherish'd aright, into Blossom and Fruit.

70

X.

But stuffing their Heads, in these classical Days,
 Full of *Homer*, and *Virgil*, and *Horace*, and *Plays*,
 And finding that Rime is in none of the four,
 'Tis enough ; the Fine-tasters have gotten their Lore.
 And away they run on with their Words in a String,
 Which they throw up at Rime with a finical Fling ;
 But to reach its full Sweetness nor willing, nor able,
 They talk about Taste like the Fox in the Fable.

80

XI.

To the Praise of old Metre, it quitted the Stage,
 In Abhorrence of tragical Ranting and Rage,
 Which, with Heights and with Depths of Distresses enrich'd,
 Verse and Prose, Art and Nature, and Morals bewitch'd ;

70. In its.—B.

71. Will frequently.—B.

79. Not willing.—B.

66. *Blank Verse, like an Aloë, rears up its Head.* The simile is not only fine but felicitous, if it be conceded that no English blank verse of the highest quality was written between Milton's and Cowper's. Nor is the "Hot-house" comparison, although in a sense depreciatory, altogether out of place.

73. *In these classical Days.* Byrom's prejudice against an essentially classical (pagan) training,—a matter of sentiment rather than a critical opinion—must be taken into account. The taunt levelled at "Plays" in the next line is equally characteristic.

81. *To the Praise of old Metre, it quitted the Stage.* See *Introductory Note*.

All the native Agreements of Language disgrac'd,
That theatrical Pomp might intoxicate Taste ;
Still retaining poor Blank, in its Fetters held fast,
To bemoan its hard Fate in romantic Bombast.

XII.

"Tis the *Subject*, in fine, in the Matter of Song,
That makes a blank Verse or a Rime to be wrong.
If unjust or improper, unchaste or profane,
It disgraces alike all poetical Strain;
If not, the Possessor of tunable Skill
Unfetter'd, unjingled, may take which he will,—
Any Plan, to which Freedom and Judgment impel,—
All the Bus'ness he knows, is to *execute well*.

90

AN EPISTLE TO A FRIEND

ON THE ART OF ENGLISH POETRY.

[I have printed Byrom's very pleasing, and wholly unpretending, *Ars Poetica* in juxtaposition with his shorter pieces concerning the principles and theory of poetic composition. He was not a writer who shrank from repeating himself; but he was rarely tedious, and, though averse from license, neither by nature nor by art a pedant. Thus, the following verses, which expound no very original nor, in truth, any very interesting theory of the Poetic Art, may be read with approval as well as with pleasure; for though, apart from Sacred Poetry, Byrom seems to have been unable to conceive of verse that was more than "prose in full dress," the maxims laid down by him for verse of this sort are sensible, sound, and pure. What little it seemed necessary to say on the subject in connexion with Byrom's own poetic efforts, has already been said in my *General Introduction* to these *Poems*. A pleasant variety is introduced into this piece by means both of the autobiographical passages, probably suggested by those (wholly different in spirit) in Pope's *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, first published in 1735, and of the skilful appeal to analogies drawn from an Art—that of Shorthand—of which Byrom might claim to rank as Master.

This *Epistle* evidently belongs to its author's mature years; but there is no clue as to its actual date. Nor is it possible to identify the "Friend" to whom the Epistle is addressed; though Jenkins (cf. l. 8) is a good Shropshire name. A Mr. Jennings was a member of Byrom's Shorthand Society in London in 1726 (see *Remains*, i. 230).

I have followed B in dividing the verses into two *Parts*. In A this division is merely suggested.]

PART I.

THÉ Art of English Poetry, I find,
At present, Jenkins, occupies your Mind;
You have a vast Desire to it, you say,
And want my Help to put you in the Way;

Want me to tell what Books you are to read ;
How to begin, at first, and how proceed.

Now, tho' in Short-hand I may well pretend
To give Directions, my *Salopian* Friend,
As having had the Honour to impart
Its full Perfection to that *English Art*,—

10

7, 8. My Salopian friend,
To give directions I may well pretend.—B.

10. *That English Art.* It is hardly probable that by this epithet Byrom intended to imply the English *origin* of the Art which he so enthusiastically professed ; and I may therefore dispense myself from an enquiry which might involve in it Pope Silvester II. (Gerbert) and ingenious persons anterior to him. The reference seems rather to the popularity which Shorthand enjoyed in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and to the consequently greater share of public attention which it then received in this country, as compared with others. On this head Byrom in his *Diary*, s.d. May 5th, 1737, records a curious discussion at his rooms among his associates, when “there was much canvassing to and fro” [as to the project of publishing Byrom’s method], “and Dr. Hartley’s paper read, and an objection stated, whether it was true that Shorthand was nowhere used hardly but in Germany, because Dr. Smith said that Mr. Zolman had told him that they used it much in Germany, and Dr. Hartley had understood it quite contrary from Mr. Zolman, that they wondered there when our State Trials came over how we could tell what was said and done ; and Mr. Stillingfleet said that it would create this objection, that if other nations could do without it, as people must do when an art is lost from among

them, yet that it did not follow that they could not do much better with it, and that this was the case, for the want of it had been lamented by authors. And it was asked me if I could support that fact, and I said, Yes, and mentioned Lipsius, Bembo, and Wilkins ; upon which it was said that an addition might be made to this effect, ‘that the want of it hath been much lamented by the learned of other nations.’” (*Remains*, ii. 146.)

A striking illustration of the esteem in which the art of Shorthand was held in Eighteenth Century England occurs in Benjamin Franklin’s Autobiography (*Life of Dr. Franklin, as written by himself*, in Franklin’s *Works*, London, 1793, i. 11). He there mentions, that his uncle and god-father Benjamin, an industrious man with literary tastes, who after serving his apprenticeship to a silk-dyer at London, joined his brother (Franklin’s father) at Boston, had invented a shorthand, which he afterwards taught his nephew. “But,” adds the latter, “having made use of it, I have now forgotten it. He was a man of piety, and a constant attendant on the best preachers, whose sermons he took a pleasure in writing down according to the expeditory method he had devised. Many volumes were thus collected by him.”

Which you, and many a sagacious Youth,
 By sure Experience, know to be the Truth ;—
 Yet how in Matters of poetic Reach,
 Untaught myself, shall I pretend to teach ?
 Well I remember, that my younger Breast
 The same Desire, that reigns in yours, possess'd.
 Me, Numbers flowing to a measur'd Time,—
 Me, sweetest Grace of *English Verse*, the Rime,—
 Choice Epithet, and smooth descriptive Line,
 Conspiring all to finish one Design,
 Smit with Delight, full negligent of Prose,
 And, thro' mere liking, tempted to compose ;
 To rate, according to my Schoolboy Schemes,
 Ten Lines in Verse worth half a hundred Themes.

20

Without one living Person to consult,
 The Years went on, from tender to adult ;
 And, as for poring to consult the dead,
 Truly, that never came into my Head.
 “Not *Homer, Virgil, Horace?*” if you ask,
 Why, yes, the Rod would send me to the Task.
 But all the Consultation that came out,
 Had its own End : to scape the whipping Bout.

30

14. Shall I, myself untaught.—B.
 32. Had this in view.—B.
 17. *Me, Numbers flowing to a measur'd Time.* A reminiscence of Pope's
 “I lisp'd in numbers ; for the numbers
 came ;”
 in its turn a reminiscence of Ovid.

30. *The Rod would send me to the Task.*
 I am unable to persuade myself that in this
 line, and in the first line of the couplet vv.
 41-2 of this piece :
 “In ancient Classics tho' but little
 read,”

29. Do you ask ?—B.
 33. Was any subject waiting.—B.

Byrom quite correctly represents the nature of his early classical training. Considering on the one hand the very respectable measure of scholarship which, taken for all in all, his compositions exhibit, and on the other the fact that in his depreciation of classical learning he unmistakeably out-Lawed Law (cf. *Remains*, ii. 181), Byrom's self-abasement on this head is only explicable by the fanaticism which at times overpowers gentle minds.

Beside, if Subject wanted to be sung,
The Muse was question'd in the vulgar Tongue :
Who, if she could not answer well in that,
Would hardly mend herself in *Greek* or *Lat.*

But poor Encouragement for you to hope,
That my Instructions will attain the Scope !
Yet, since the Help which you are pleas'd to seek,
Does not concern the *Latin* or the *Greek*,—
In ancient Classics tho' but little read,
I know, and care as little, what they said—
In plain, familiar *English* for your sake
This untried Province I will undertake,
And Rules for Verse as readily instil,
As if Ability had equall'd Will ;
Fair Stipulation first on either Side,
In Form, and Manner, here annex'd, implied.

40

Conditions are : that, if the Muse should err,
You gave th' Occasion, and must pardon her,
If aught occur, on sitting down to try,
That may deserve the casting of your Eye ;
If Hint arise, in any Sort, to suit
With your Intent——you shall be welcome to't.

50

You may remember, when you first began
To learn the truly tachygraphic Plan,
How tracing, Step by Step, the simplest Line,
We grounded, rais'd, and finish'd our Design ;

37. 'Tis poor.—B.

44. *This untried Province I will undertake.* The “province” could hardly said to have been “untried” in English, when already Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, not to mention the earlier efforts on which it touches, had imitated Boileau's imitation of Horace *de Arte Poetica*.

52. *The casting of your eye.* Inelegantly for “the casting on it of your eye.”
56. *The truly tachygraphic Plan.* “His Marks for Words are all formed out of the simple ones, which denote their respective Letters. As the Words have various Lengths, Relations to, and Dependencies

How we examin'd Language and its Pow'rs,
 And then adjusted ev'ry Stroke to ours ;
 Whilst the same Method, follow'd in the main,
 Made other Matters more concisely plain ;
 Made *English, French, Italian, Hebrew* too,
 Appear the clearest in a Short-hand View,—
 Which, in all Points where Language was concern'd,
 Explain'd how best, and soonest, they were learn'd ;
 Shew'd where to end, as well as to commence :
 At that one, central, point of View—Good Sense.

There fix your Eye, then, if you mean to write
 Verse that is fit to read or to recite !
 A Poet, slighting this initial Rule,
 Is but, at best, an artificial Fool ;
 Of learning Verse quite needless the Expense :
 Plain Prose might serve to show his want of Sense.

But you who have it, and would give to Prose
 The Grace that English Poetry bestows,
 Consider how the Short-hand Scheme, in Part,
 May be applied to the poetic Art.
 To write or read in that, you understood,
 There must be Sense, and Sense that must be good ;

73. *Needless of learning verse were.—B.*

upon each other, so have the Marks." *A* his system was far superior to any other preceding it." Byrom's *Proposals* for publishing his Method were printed in 1726 ; the Act of Parliament securing to Byrom a monopoly of his system was passed in 1742 ; Taylor's system, which Mr. Michell holds to have superseded it, was not published till 1786.

63. HEBREW, too. Byrom has some remarkably judicious observations on the imperfections of the Hebrew alphabet in *The Universal English Shorthand*.

The more that Words were proper and exact
In Book or Speech, the more we could contract.
The *Hand*, you know, became a kind of Test,
In this Respect, what Writings were the best.
If incorrect the Language or absurd,
It cost the fuller noting of each Word ;
But, when more apt, grammatical, and true,
Full oft a Letter for a Word would do.

Form to yourself, directly, the Design
Of so constructing a poetic Line,
That it may cost in writing it *our Way* 90
The least Expense of Ink, as one may say ;
That Word, or Phrase, in Measure that you please,
May come the nearest to prosaic Ease !
You'll see the Cases from the Rule exempt,
Whilst it directs, in gen'ral, your Attempt,
How Word or Sentence you may oft transpose,
And Verse be still as natural as Prose.

"As natural" : for, tho' we call it Art,
The Worth in Poetry is Nature's Part.
Here "*Artis est celare artem*"; here 100

81. The more where.—B. 95, 96. Transposed in B. 96. Whilst this.—B.

83 segg. *The HAND, you know, became a kind of Test, &c.* So that David Copperfield pursued too mixed a method, when in learning the noble art and mystery of stenography, he engaged the aid of Tommy Traddles, armed with the orations of "Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Burke, Lord Castlereagh, Viscount Sidmouth, or Mr. Canning."

94. *May come the nearest to prosaic Ease.* "Buffon finit par dire, pour louer des vers, qu'ils sont beaux comme de la belle prose."

TAINÉ, *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise* (2nd ed., 1866), iv. 203.

98. *And Verse be still as natural as Prose.* "Une femme de chambre, sous Louis XIV,' dit Courier, écrivait mieux que le plus grand écrivain d'aujourd'hui." (*Ib.*, 174, note.)

101. ARTIS EST CELARE ARTEM. As Mr. Sandys points out in his edition of the *de Oratore* (p. xvi.), the nearest classical parallel for this celebrated phrase appears to be Ov., *Metam.*, x. 252 : "Ars adeo latet arte suā." Erasmus reproduces this in his *Adagia* in a rather different form.

Art must be hid, that Nature may appear ;
 So lie conceal'd behind the shining Glass,
 That Nature's Image may the best repass ;
 All o'er, indeed, must Quicksilver be spread,
 And all its useless Motion must lie dead.

The Art of Swimming——next, that comes to Mind——
 Perhaps may show you what is here design'd.

A young Beginner struggling you may see
 With all his Might——'twas so at least with me—— 110
 With all the Splutter of his Limbs to swim,
 And keep his Brains and Breath above the Brim ;
 Whilst, the more eager he to gain his Art,
 The sooner ev'ry Limb is thrown athwart ;
 Till by Degrees he learns with less Ado
 And gentler Stroke the Purpose to pursue.
 To Nature's Motions poising he conforms,
 Nor puts th' unwilling Element in Storms ;
 Taught, as the smoother Wave shall yield, to yield,
 And rule the Surface of the wat'ry Field. 120

Soon as you can, then, learn to lay aside
 All wild Endeavours against Nature's Tide ;
 Which Way she bends take Notice, and comply ;
 The Verse that will not, burn, or throw it by !
 Maybe, the Subject does not suit your Skill,—
 Dismiss, dismiss, till one comes up that will !
 If Sense, if Nature succour not the Theme,
 All Art and Skill is Strife against the Stream ;

107. That comes next.—B. 124. What verses will not,—burn or throw them.—B.

125. Perhaps the.—B. 126. Dismiss it then, till.—B.

104. Repass. Reflect itself.

107. *The Art of Swimming*—next that comes to Mind. Byrom was no doubt thinking of his “obvious” emendation of the passage in Suetonius, *de vita Cæsarum*, lib. ii. c. 64; see note on *Letter to R. L., Esq., on Receiving another Hare, ante*, p. 253.

If they assist to waft your Verses o'er,
Stretch forward, and possess the wish'd-for Shore.

130

'Twas from a certain native Sense and Wit
That came "*Poeta nascitur, non fit,*"—
Adage forbidding any riming Blade,
That was not born a Poet, to be made.
For, if to sing, in Music, or to hear,
Require a natural good Voice or Ear,—
If Art and Rule but awkwardly advance,
Without a previous, pliant Shape, to dance :
Well may the Muse, before she can inspire,
Versatile Force of supple Wit require.

140

Of this if Critics should demand a Sign,
Strong Inclination should be one of mine.
A fair Desire is seldom known to spring,
But where there is some Fitness for the Thing.
Tho' by untoward Circumstances check'd,
There lies a Genius, but without Effect.
Many a fine Plant, uncultivated, dies,
And worse, with more Encouragement, may rise.
"*Des Mæcenates,*"—what had Maro been,
Had not *Mecænas* rais'd the Muse within ?

150

Yours, honest Pupil, when you are inclin'd,
May versify, according to your Mind.

131. This, from.—B. 132. Arose,—“Poeta.—B. 134. Who was.—B.

135. Nat'rally good voice and.—B. 139. Force before she can inspire.—B.

140. Of supple wit require.—B.

132. *Poeta nascitur, non fit.* An adage, And waste its sweetness on the desert air.”
so far as I know, of unknown origin. —GRAY's *Elegy* (first published 1751).

147. *Many a fine Plant, uncultivated,* 149. *Des Mæcenates.* Martial, Bk. viii.,
dies. Ep. lvi., v. 5 :
“Full many a flower is born to blush un- “*Sint Mæcenates, non deerunt, Flacce,*
seen, *Marones.*”

She has no Reason, to no Patron tied,
 To prostitute her Favours to a Side ;
 Nor to false Taste, if any such the Age
 Shall run into, to sacrifice her Page ;
 Much less, with any vicious Topic vile,
 An Art of chaster Offspring to defile.
 All Verse unworthy of an English Muse
 Of Short-hand Race she may, and must, refuse.

160

Ancient and modern Aptitude to run
 Into some Errors, which you ought to shun,
 Will now and then occasion, I foresee,
 In Place or out, a *Præcipe* from me.
 When this shall happen, never stand to try
 The *Where* of its Appearance, but the *Why* :
 Lest by Authorities, or old or new,
 You should be tempted to incur them too ;
 Since the most celebrated Names infer
 No Sort of Privilege in you to err,—
 Far from it ! Even, where they may excel,
 Barely to imitate is not so well.
 Much less should their Authority prevail,
 Or warrant you to follow, where they fail.

170

'Tis not to search for Precedents alone,
 But how to form a Judgment of your own.
 In writing Verse, that is your main Affair,
 Main End of all my monitory Care,—
 Who hate Servility to Common Law
 That keeps an equitable Right in Awe ;
 By Use and Custom justifies its Lot,
 Its Modes and Fashions, whether right or not ;
 Cramps the free Genius, clips the Muse's Wing,

180

155, 156. If into such the age
 Shall plunge itself.—B.

168. *To incur them.* Viz., the errors.

And to one Poet ties another's String ;
Producing, from their hardly various Lines,
So many Copies and so few Designs.

By neither Names nor Numbers be deterr'd ;
Nor yield to mix amongst the servile Herd ;
Exert the Liberty which all avow,
Tho' Slaves in Practice, and begin just now ! 190
Begin with me, and construe what I write,
Not to preclude your Judgment, but excite ;
Just as you once examin'd what I taught,
From First to last, with unaddicted Thought :
So, while at your Request I venture here
To play the Master, see that all be clear ;
Preserve the Freedom which you always took,
Nor, if it teach amiss, regard the Book !

Thus, unencumber'd, let us move along,
As Road shall lead us, to the Mount of Song ; 200
Still keeping, so far by Agreement tied,
Good Verse in Prospect, and good Sense for Guide !

PART II.

SENSE presuppos'd, and resolute Intent,
To regulate thereby poetic Bent,
Let us examine Language once again,
As erst we did to regulate the Pen ;
And then observe how the peculiar Frame
Of Words in English may assist your Aim !

188. Neither by names nor.—B.

192. But t' excite.—B.

186. *So few Designs.* So few original conceptions (cf. note, *ante*, p. 190.)194. *With unaddicted Thought.* Hor. *Epist. i. 1, 14 :*190. *Begin just now!* Begin at once, without a moment's hesitation.

“Nullius addictus iurare in verba magistris.”

The End of Speech, vouchsaf'd to human Kind,
 Is to express Conceptions of the Mind. 210
 By painted Speech, or Writing's wond'rous Aid,
 The Lines of Thought are legibly display'd ;
 In any Place, at any Time, appear,
 And silent Figure speaks to mental Ear ;
 Surprising Permanence of Meaning found
 For distant Voice and momentary Sound.
 Whether by Heav'n at first the huge Effect
 Reveal'd, or by inventive Wit,—reflect
 What good may follow, if a Man exert
 The Talent right, what Ill, if he pervert ; 220
 And to Exertion, whether good, or bad,
 What Strength engaging Poetry may add ;
 That, if successful in your present Drift,
 You may not risk to desecrate the Gift !

You see, in speaking, or by Sound or Ink,
 The grand inceptione Caution is—to think ;
 To measure, ponder, ruminate, digest,—
 Or Phrase whatever that betokens best
 A due Attention to make Art and Skill
 Turn all to Good, or least of all to Ill ; 230
 Never to give, on any warm Pretence,
 To just Observers Cause of just Offence.

228. Or any phrase that will betoken.—B.

211. *By painted Speech.* Hieroglyphics : of which in Byrom's day the study was still purely tentative.

218. *Whether by Heav'n at first the huge Effect*

Reveal'd, or by inventive Wit.

From Condillac onwards, and before Condillac, the speculations on the origin of language have been many and ingenious. But the gist of the matter is really given

in the opening sentence of Locke's Third Book : "God, having designed man for a sociable creature, made him not only with an inclination, and under a necessity to have fellowship with those of his own kind, but furnished him also with language, which was to be the great instrument and common tie of society."

231. *On any warm Pretence.* On any pretence of being carried away by emotion.

To Truth, to Good, undoubtedly belong
The Skill of Poets and the Charms of Song.

In Verse or Prose, in Nature or in Art,
The Head begins the Movement, or the Heart.
If both unite, if both be clear and sound,
Then may Perfection in a Work be found ;
Then does the Preacher, then the Poet shine,
And justly take the Title of Divine.

By common Sense the World has been all led
To make Distinction of the Heart and Head,—
Distinction worthy of your keenest Ken
In passing Judgment upon Books and Men,—
Upon Yourself, before you shall submit
To other Judges what Yourself has writ.

240

The Heart, the Head, it may suffice to note,
Two diff'rent Kinds of Poetry promote :
One, more sublime, more sacred, and severe,
That shines in Poetry's celestial Sphere ;
One, of an useful, tho' an humbler, Birth,
That ornaments its lower Globe of Earth.
These we shall here ascribe, if you think fit,
One to good Sense, the other to good Wit,
And grant, that, whichsoever be display'd,
It must have something of the other's Aid.
Without some Wit, Solidity is dull ;
As bad the sprightly Nonsense, to the full.

250

To clothe them both in Language, and by Rule,
Let us again revise the Short-hand School,
And trace the branching Stamens of Discourse
From their most plain and *primerly* Resource !

260

240. *The title of Divine.* *Vates*, or as stated in primers of language. The Prophet.

word is phonetically spelt "primerly"

262. *PRIMERLY Resource.* Their origin in A.

Four Parts of Speech, you know, we us'd to make
 The best Arrangement, for Enquiry's Sake ;
 And how spontaneous, to determine those,
 The Noun, the Adnoun, Verb, and Adverb rose !
 Occurring Hints, but to no Stiffness tied
 Of formal Method, let these four divide !
 They do, in Fact, partition out, you know,
 The Sense of Words, as far as Words can go ; 270
 For, of a Thing the clear ideal Sense,—
 The Properties that really spring from thence,
 Actions, and Modes of Action, that ensue,
 Must all unite to make the Language true.
 If false, some one or other of these four
Unveils Delusion ent'ring at its Door.—
 But wonted Lessons I shall here pass by,
 Trusting to your Remembrance,—and apply.

The Noun, the Name, the Substantive, the Thing,
 Let represent the Subject that you sing,— 280
 The main essential Matter, whereupon
 You mean to set the Muse at Work anon !
 Ere you begin the Verse that you intend,
“Respice finem,”—think upon its End !
 One single Point, on which you are to fix,
 Must govern all that you shall intermix ;
 Before you quest for Circumstances round,
 Peg down, at first, the Centre of your Ground ;
 Each periodic Incident when past,
 Examine gently whether *that* be fast ! 290

279. Or thing.—B.

266. *Adnoun. Adjective.*

284. “RESPICE FINEM.” Neither this quotation, nor, I need hardly say, the parody “*respice funem,*” can, so far as I know, be traced to any standard author.

288. *Peg down, at first, the Centre of your Ground.* I am inclined to suspect in this line an allusion, possibly unconscious, to the tent-maker St. Paul's treatment of Faith in the *Epistle to the Romans.*

How can you help, if it should e'er come out,
Mistaking quite the Point you are about ;
How, with no Tether fix'd to your Designs,
Help incoherent, loose, unmeaning Lines ?

You need not ask of classic Rome or Greece
Whether your Work should all be of a Piece.
The Thing is plain, and all that Rule can tell
Is—Memorandum to observe it well :
To frame, whatever you shall intersperse
Of Decoration, well-connected Verse,
That shall, whatever may across be spread,
From End to End maintain an equal Thread ;
That Botch, or Patch, or clumsy, awkward Seam
Mar not poetic Unity of Theme.

300

This Theme, or Subject, for your English Muse
Belongs of right to you and her to choose.
Your own unbiass'd Inclinations best
The *freer* Topics for a Verse suggest.
All within Bound of Innocence is free,
And you may range, without consulting me,
The just, delightful, and extensive Sphere ;
All else,—what need of Caution to forbear ?
None ;—if the Bards, and some of them renown'd,
Had not transgrest and overleapt the Bound.
This may indeed bid you to have a Care,—

310

293, 294. How help, no tether fix'd to your designs,
Unmeaning, loose, and incoherent lines ?

313. *None* ;—if the Bards, &c. A perfectly just criticism, since of the offences against morals of which literature has been guilty, most have been due to the servility of fashion, and comparatively few to the insolence of genius. Byrom lived in an age when English poetic literature, what-

ever may have been its other defects, was (more especially considering the atmosphere surrounding it) on the whole remarkably pure. This was largely owing to the effects of Pope's not immaculate, but as a rule safe, dictatorship.

Me, to renew the Warning to beware.
While unrestrain'd you set yourself the Task,
Let it be harmless, and 'tis all I ask.

Some, to be sure, more excellent and grand,
Your practic'd Genius may in Time demand. 320
To these in View, no Doubt, you may, in Will,
Devote at present your completer Skill ;
And whilst in little Essays you express,
Or clothe a Thought in versifying Dress,
On fair Idéas they may turn, and just,
And pave the Way to something more august.
If well your earlier Specimens intend,
From small Beginnings you may greatly end,
Write what the Good may praise, as they peruse,
And bless, with no unfruitful Fame, the Muse.

320

330

A youthful Muse, a sprightly one, may crave
To intermix the Cheerful with the Grave.
Indulge her Choice, nor stop the flowing Stream,
Where Verse adorns an inoffensive Theme !
Unwill'd Endeavour is the same as faint,
And Brisk will languish, if it feel Constraint.
From Task impos'd, from any Kind of Force,
A stiff, and starch'd Production comes, of course ;
Unless it suit, as it may chance to do,
The present Humour of the Muse, and you,— 340
Sooner, so ask'd, that willing Numbers flow,
The more acceptable and *à propos*.
Tho' prompt, if proper the Occasion rise,
Her nimbler Aid no gen'rous Muse denies ;
But, if a fair and friendly Call invite,

323. *Little Essays.* This accentuation of the word essays marks the transition from Pope's to modern usage.

340. *Sooner.* The sooner.

Speeds on the Verse to opportune Delight ;
Cuts all Delays to Satisfaction short,
When Friends and Seasons are in Temper for't :
As by this present Writing one may see,
Dear Muse of mine, is just the Case with thee.

350

A gen'rous Muse, I must again repeat,
Disdains the poor, poetical Conceit
Of poaching Verse for personal Repute,
And writing only to be thought to do't,
Without regarding one of its chief Ends,—
At once to profit and to pleasure Friends.
Tho' to the Bard she dictate first the Line,
The Readers Benefit is her Design.
Mistaken Poets seek for private Fame ;
'Tis gen'ral Use that sanctifies the Name.

360

Be free, and choose what Subject, then, you will,
But keep your Readers in Remembrance still,—
Your future Judges, tho' 'tis in your Choice
In what Committees who shall have a Voice !
Their Satisfaction if the Muse prefers,
And their Esteem, who justly merit hers,
They who do not, however prompt of Throat,
Stand all excluded from the legal Vote.
Verse, any Readers for whom Verse is writ,
May to the Press or to the Flames commit.
A Poet signs the Judgment on his Verse,
If Readers worthy to be pleas'd rehearse ;
But, when the Blockheads meddle in the Cause,
Laughs at their Blame, and smiles at their Applause.

370

'Twill add to future versifying Ease
To think on Judges whom you ought to please ;

To fancy some of your selected Friends
Discussing Points to which a Subject tends ;
By whom you guess it would be well discuss'd,
And Judgment form'd that you might safely trust. 380
If you conceive them sitting on the Bench,
Hints, what is fit to add or to retrench,
Anticipating Fancy may supply,
And save the Trouble to the real Eye ;
Judgment awaken'd may improve the Theme
With righter Verdict,—tho' the Court's a Dream.

THE ORIGIN OF POETRY.

[The following fragment of a couplet—happily conceived—appears on fol. 62 of the Chetham Library MS. Though, therefore, written at an early date in Byrom's literary career (1719–20), it is here inserted as a fitting *envoi* to his *Epistle on the Art of English Poetry*.]

—Poetry at first began
And with God's power exhilarated man.

A DEFENCE OF RIME.

[I follow up the *Epistle* by printing, in the succession in which the author allowed them to be printed, Byrom's contributions to the controversy between himself and Roger Comberbach on the question of the comparative merits of Rime and Blank Verse.

Roger Comberbach, Prothonotary of the Palatinate of Chester and Recorder of Macclesfield, was a son of Roger Comberbach, Recorder of Chester and afterwards a Welsh Judge, whose Reports were published by the younger bearer of the name in 1724 (see *Remains*, ii. 553, note; and cf. Earwaker's *East Cheshire, Past and Present* (1880), ii. 468, note). He first appears as a correspondent of our poet on December 20th, 1753, when he returns thanks for the receipt of Byrom's "elegant and obliging Epistle," and proposes that the *Epistle* in question, in which his "awkward enterprise" had been thought worthy of candid notice, should be published jointly with his own Ode (one or two small alterations being introduced into the latter). (*Remains*, ii. 553-5.) The result of this proposal, made in modest and deferential terms, was, that in 1754, or early in 1755 (the book has no date, but the suggestion of 1750 in the British Museum Catalogue is obviously a slip of the pen), was published *A Dispute, consisting of a Preface in favour of Blank Verse, with an Experiment of it, in an Ode upon the British Country Life, by Roger Comberbach, Esq.; an Epistle from Dr. Byrom to Mr. Comberbach in Defence of Rime; and Mr. Comberbach's Reply.* The British Museum Library, which contains a copy under the above title, has another copy of apparently the same pamphlet. The only differences in this are that the title begins "*The Contest, in which is exhibited a Preface, &c.*"; that both in the title and in the text Comberbach's reply is described as "*An Eclogue by Mr. Comberbach in reply to Mr. Byrom;*" and that a misprint is corrected in the Vergilian motto on the title-page, of a kind so offensive to the eye of a scholar that it might almost suffice to account for the issue of an edition with a fresh face. The title of "*The Conquest*" is that under which the publication has been generally quoted. A review of it in the *Monthly*

Review, or Literary Journal, vol. xiii. (1755), pp. 95 seqq., gives a fair account, with ample extracts, of both sides of the controversy.

Comberbach begins by placing on record in a *Preface* his approval both of (John) Mason's notion "that the soft Iambic" might "have a good effect in" English "lyric measure without rime," and of his observation "that the harmony of Milton's versification consisted in the various disposition of his pauses." By way of an experiment on these principles he submits a version of Horace's *Ode (Epod. ii.)* in praise of a country life ("Beatus ille, qui procul negotis," &c.), in blank lyric measure. (Poetic justice will, I think, be satisfied by my citing in a note, side by side with the rimed version by Byrom, a portion of Comberbach's attempt — viz., that selected for quotation by the *Monthly Reviewer*.) Byrom's version forms part of the piece which follows in *The Contest* under the heading of *Dr. Byrom's Letter to Mr. Comberbach, occasion'd by the foregoing Preface and Ode*; and there seemed no necessity for separating it from its context. The *Monthly Reviewer* cited above, it may be added, observes, that, with respect to Mr. Comberbach's objections to rime, he chooses to prefer Dr. Byrom's answer, in a peculiarly familiar sort of verse, to his (*the Reviewer's*) own sentiments, which are entirely coincident. He then quotes a series of passages, which I need not specify, from the lines which follow.

The Contest concludes with Comberbach's *Eclogue* in reply to Byrom, which will be found in *Remains*, ii. 555-7. It apostrophises Byrom as "Colin," in allusion to the *Pastoral* written by him in his youth, and as "third possessor" of "the charming pipe" once owned by—Theocritus and Vergil! No literary duel could have ended with a greater excess of politeness. The whole course of it, including Byrom's share, cannot but be described as terribly tedious; and a good deal of what was said on both sides, and on the side of rime more especially, was in my opinion far more attractively put by Robert Lloyd, in his lines *On Rime, a Familiar Epistle to a Friend* (1762 c.; see Chalmers' *Poets*, vol. xv. pp. 125-8).]

DEAR SIR,

Tho' friend to rime which you explode,
Nevertheless I thank you for your Ode,
And Preface also. For my part I choose

A plain, familiar, honest, riming Muse,
And prize her members far beyond all blanks.
Excuse the freedom, and accept the thanks !

Musing, moreover, on your printed sheet,
Respect suggested that it was but meet,
In rime's defence, a rime or two to write,—
Lest haply silence should be deem'd a slight :
Not with a captious, critical design,—
That, Sir, is far from any thought of mine ;
But in a print of this poetic kind
You may expect a man to speak his mind ;
To own the Justice of the reasons, why
You would extirpate rime,—or else reply.

10

'Tis your permission, then, that I invoke,
To guard the Muse from such a fatal stroke.
Her aid invok'd in any other task,
In this—'tis mine that she is pleas'd to ask;
The poet now must lend the Muse an aid
And save the right of the melodious maid.

20

You send me here an elegance quite new,
A plan from Horace, and well copied too,—
As far as chosen epithet and pause
Harmonious modulate the lyric clause ;
As far as native scene thro' ev'ry line
Of Roman or of British bard can shine ;
As far in short as ev'ry grace but one
Bedecks the theme that either writes upon,—
The Country Life: which Horace in his way,
And you in yours, so lyricly display.

30

That one, however, is a special Grace,
Tho' Roman Horace could not give it place.
His Latin language, fill'd with many more,

Wanted not Rime to grace its ample store.
 But in our own——tho' one should dare to match
 With Roman Horace British C——,
 It would be too too partial to the tongue
 To say that Rime was needless in the song ;
 Which, tho' in pompous buskin verse declin'd,
 Is quite essential to the oral kind.

40

Your own attempt——and if another man
 Thinks he can better your Horatian plan,
 Let him attempt it !——you, I say, have shewn
 That lyric pause will hardly do alone,
 With all the force of emphasis and choice
 Of word and stop, to pre-engage the voice.
 Still they who read, and they who hear it read,
 Hang in suspense—if to be sung or said ?
 Some that I show'd it to, intent to read,
 Have well begun, but could not well proceed.
 Well they begun ; but, as they went along,

50

36. *Wanted not Rime to grace its ample store.* Nothing is more curious than the favour which rime found among the Romans when introduced to them in the religious verse of the early Christian Church, and in the popular poetry of the same period. Partly this may, no doubt, be attributed to the fact mentioned by Byrom, and fully illustrated by the late Archbishop Trench in the chapter *On Rime in Latin Verse* in the *Introduction to his Sacred Latin Poetry*, 3rd ed., 1886, pp. 26 *segg.* He puts the case thus (pp. 30-1) : "When at a later day rime began to enter as a regular element into poetry, and to be accounted almost its necessary condition, this was not the coming in of something strange or new. Rime, though new to Latin verse in the extent to which it was

now adopted, yet had already made itself an occasional place even in the later or prosodic poetry of Rome ; as no doubt it was, and would have continued to be, of far more frequent occurrence in that earlier national poetry, which was supprest without having ever reached its full and natural development."

38. *C——.* Comberbach !

39. *Too too partial.* This survival of this well-known Elisabethan reduplication is noticeable. "O that this too too solid flesh would melt !"

41. *Tho' in pompous buskin verse declin'd.* Though eschewed in solemn dramatic poetry.

42. *The oral kind.* The kind, I suppose, spoken simply, without stage accessories.

They found their prejudice to Rime too strong ;
Each other grace, when that did not appear,
Displeas'd the long-habituated ear ;
All varied rests, and all descriptions pat
Could not compénsate them for want of that.

With prefatory page to introduce
The new endeavour to correct old use : 60
I doubt you cannot Britishly exempt
Lyrics from Rime——tho' welcome the attempt.
To old improvements one may give their due,
Yet like a genius that but hints at new,
In verse or prose to hint one now-a-days
I count a matter of no servile praise ;
Tho' for the reasons that you urge in print
I cannot yield to your ingenious hint.
The leading maxim which is here embrac'd,—
To wit, that rime is certainly false taste,— 70
Is one, to which, if you appeal to me,
I cannot yet by any means agree.
To this, reserving all the due respect
For better information, I object.

“Rime is false taste” ; and then you add beside :
“And what the learnèd ancients all avoid.”
What “learnèd ancients” ? Let me ask, what “all”
Into this taste were so afraid to fall ?
For, as to those of *Greek* and *Roman* stem
Avoiding rime,—why, rime avoided them ! 80
Nature of language upon riming feet
Forbad the two antagonists to meet.

57. *Rests.* Pauses. Cf. II. 196, 224, *infra.* assumption. But quantity, not rime, being the accepted test of ancient Greek and

81. *Nature of language, &c.* As mediæval Latin and modern Greek poems suffice to prove, there is no reason for this and Latin verse, the combination of both requirements could not possibly be imposed : so that the instances of riming verses

This is no more a reason to defame
 Our rimes in *English*, than for us to blame
 The several idioms which those tongues have got
 And we avoid,—that is, we have them not.

“ Sameness of measure constantly pursued,
 And close of periods that still conclude
 With the same sound, is irksome to the ear,”—
 This is the reason next asserted here.
 But are not measures in our Common verse
 The very same which you yourself rehearse :
 The soft Iambic—in your phrase—and these
 The English language falls into with ease.
 Give, then, to measure, whilst you take the same,
 Its easy, natural, unirksome claim ;
 Make fair appeal, nor guiltless rime assault
 For measur’d sameness of Iambic fault ;
 And then let ears decide this single doubt :
 “Are lyrics irksome *with* them——or *without*? ”

90

100

“ *With* them,” you think, “blank metre far excels,”
 And bring a plain comparison from bells.
 “ Rimes are extremely irksome,”—so you say,—
 “ As bells are irksome, rung the common way ;
 From which, in changes if the ringers ring,
 Variety and harmony would spring.”

Now, bells, when rung in changes, if you will
 May show in ringers a superior skill ;
 But for the music of their various change
 Give me the simple tuneful octave range,—
 Of steeped sounds the plain harmonious part !

110

occurring in classical Greek or Latin verse (as distinct from earlier Latin poetry, of which rime may, in Trench’s phrase, *u.s.*, have been “considered a legitimate orna-

ment”) may be to all intents and purposes set down to accident.

88. *Still.* Constantly.

The rest is all but janglement of art,—
Less apt, as hearers I have heard complain,
To please an ear, than to disturb a brain.
Of this allusion one may then admit,
And Rime not suffer, I conceive, a bit.

Why recommend, for reasons of this kind,
To men of genius, and of vacant mind,
To banish rimes in General—to decree
The British muse “from Gothic fetters free ?”

120

These *Gothic* fetters all the muses seek
In all the tongues but *Latin* and but *Greek* :
Where verse excels, because they both are blest
With fetters more than any of the rest ;
Can yield to more and stricter rules, in fine,
That grace and strengthen the poetic line.

120 *These Gothic fetters.* “Gothic” was no doubt used by Comberbach and Byrom, as by most writers of their century, in the general sense of “Teutonic” or “Northern.” So Beattie, in the Preface to *The Minstrel* (1771), which is in the Spenserian stanza, says: “To those who may be disposed to ask, what could induce me to write in so difficult a measure, I can only answer, that it pleases my ear, and seems, from its Gothic structure and original, to bear some relation to the subject and spirit of the Poem.” “Gothic fetters” seems to have become a sort of cant phrase of the opponents of rime. See in Robert Lloyd’s poem, cited in the *Introductory Note*:

“Nay, e’en professors of the art,
To prove their wit betray their heart,
And speak against themselves, to show
What they would have the world to know :

As, when the measur’d couplets curse
The manacles of Gothic verse,
While the trim bards in easy strains
Talk much of fetters, clogs and chains;
He only aims that you should think
How charmingly he makes them clink.”
The reader will remember Milton’s acknowledgment in the *Areopagitica* “to those ages, to whose polite wisdom and letters we owe that we are not yet *Goths* and *Jutlanders*.”

123-4. *They both are blest
With fetters more.*

Greek and Latin are under the restriction of quantity; and it has been affirmed that Greek verse has regard to accent as well as quantity. But this latter assertion is more than doubtful. Inasmuch, therefore, as modern languages are bound by accents, Byrom’s argument amounts to little or nothing.

Our too neglected language has too few ;
 Yet, as if more were in it than enow,
 You banish rime,—bid vacant minds provide
 To lay its chief prerogative aside ;
 That one peculiar beauty you decry
 Which modern muses are distinguish'd by.
 Poets, for their encouragement, you paint
 Less subject now to quantity's restraint
 Than were the ancients : “ to be thus untied
 Is our advantage on the modern side.”
 Whereas, in all poetical respect,
 This one advantage is one great defect,—
 One source of ruin to the minor clan,
 Who think verse good verse when they words can scan : 140
 By this “ advantage ” they run hobbling on,—
 Yea, men of sense sometimes, like Dr. *Donne*,—
 With woeful proof what benefit is gain'd
 By being less to quantity restrain'd.
 Of all restraints the justest heretofore

130

127. *Our too neglected language has too few.* The truth of this must be admitted, in view of the uncertainty which still in some measure remains in English usage as to accent ; but this uncertainty is too limited in extent seriously to affect the question at issue.

140. *Who think verse good verse when they words can scan.* When they can scan the words. The sense would be much the same, and the line would “ scan ” rather less painfully, if Byrom wrote not “ they,” but “ the words.” In either case, however, this line is worthy of being cited with Pope’s famous adaptation of Dryden : “ And ten low words oft creep in one dull line.”

142. *Like DR. DONNE.* The irregularity of Donne’s metrification in his *Sa-*

tires (for these are mainly, though not perhaps solely, in question) has been exaggerated, and what is in fact a superior variety and flexibility of verse has been mistaken for mere roughness. This injustice is due to Pope’s arrogant pretension, encouraged by Dryden’s criticisms and inflated by Warburton’s commentary, to having “ versified ” Donne’s *Satires*. But the roughness and irregularity imputed are not to be altogether ignored, or explained away. Ben Jonson, who esteemed “ John Donne the first poet in the world in some things,” also opined “ that Donne, for not keeping of accent, deserved hanging.”

145-6. *Of all restraints the justest here-tofore*

Less tied the modern bards,—at present, more.

Less tied the modern bards,—at present more ;
More ev'ry harsher freedom they coerce,
And consequently write much better verse.
'Tis true, they don't in *Greek* and *Latin* sort
Fix by unvaried rules the long and short 150
Of syllables ; but a judicious bard
Pays to their quantities the same regard,
In length and brevity exact and clear ;
He wants no precepts, while he has an ear ;
Wants no advantage, having no complaint
Of being subject to the same restraint,
Which they who are not subject to, I doubt,
For muse and metre, will suppose too stout.
What poet, then, would any rime dismiss
For such a blank advantage, Sir, as this ? 160

You add another, not at all confin'd
To hasty dactyle of ignoble kind ;—
So Dionysius and so Mason term
Poor Dactyle's measure, and so you confirm.

I have slightly changed the interpunction of these lines so as to bring out their sense, which seems to be, that modern poets, by beginning to attend to quantity, were improving the quality of their verse. It is perfectly true, that an utter disregard of quantity, even where there are no rules of quantity and where it is not the test of verse, is injurious to effect. An iambic such as “thātch'd rōof” (see Comberbach's version of Horace, *infra*, l. 7) will never please.

149. *They don't.* No English attempt at quantity-verses—not even Tennyson's—has been reckoned more than a *curiosum*.

163. *So Dionysius and so Mason.* Both in his *Essay on the Power of Numbers, and the Principle of Harmony in Poetic Compositions* (cf. *ante*, p. 387), and in the com-

panion *Essay on the Power of Harmony of Prosaic Numbers* (2nd edn., 1761), John Mason is very severe on the Dactylic Measure. The long metre of this sort is in the former *Essay* pronounced to be “best adapted to Catches, Tales and Sonnets, or Subjects of Wit and Humour” (p. 70), and part of *My Time, O ye Muses* is cited as exemplifying a variety of it (p. 74). In the latter *Essay* the Dactyl is ranged with the Pyrrhic, the Trochee, the Tribrach, &c., among “base Numbers,” the Iambic, Spondee, Anapest, &c., being contrasted with them as “generous Numbers” (pp. 10, 15–16). But from the note appended to this passage it appears that Dionysius of Halicarnassus, from whose, or from a work attributed to whom, Mason quotes repeatedly in both *Essays*, calls the Dactyl “σεμύδις, i.e., a

Severe enough ! Imagine he that lists,
 Wherein its ignobility consists !
 What I would ask is, why of ancient folks
 Impose on us their freedoms or their yokes,—
 Of ancient folks, whose language and its pow'rs
 Must have so oft a diff'rent turn from ours ? 170

'Tis our own language, Sir, when understood,
 That tells what freedom, what restraint, is good.
 'Tis Mason's task ignobly to asperse
 The British Muse, who in her dactyle verse,
 Subjects and measures properly applied,
 Exerts a grace to *Greece* and *Rome* denied.
 Or inattentive he, or injudicious,
 To blame her dactyle from his Dionysius !
 Or say—of metre that you please prefer !—
 What Dionysius had to do with her ? 180

He knew her not ; and 'tis a learnèd whim
 To think that she knew anything of him ;
 Or, if she did, that she would go to seek
 The rules for *English*, that he wrote in *Greek*.
 Young bards that write most promisingly well,
 And might in native sense and sound excel,
 Are oft by ancient pedantry, at last,
 Lost in the blank of tragical bombast.
 Who would not wish that they might take in time

grave and venerable Foot." Mason, however, has no hesitation in qualifying this assertion as meant only when the Dactyl "is taken in connection with the Spondee, which corrects and tempers it."

175. *Subjects and manners properly applied.* Subjects and manners being properly applied. See the preceding note. Byrom was sensitive on the subject of dactylic metre; for much of his verse was written in it; nor was he always so successful

in the application either of subject or of manner as in his famous *Pastoral* on the one hand, or in his beautiful *Divine Pastoral* (see vol. ii., *infra*,) on the other.

188. *Lost in the blank of tragical bombast.* But then, while in the Elisabethan age it was the ambition of playwrights to figure as poets, in the eighteenth century it was the desire of writers of poetry to bring out plays.

The grand preservative, the British Rime?— 190
Not to forbid excursion such as this
Which you present, nor takes the Muse amiss;
But, when you chain her lyrics to your laws,
Then she looks blank, and there she makes a pause;
As well she may,—if all her stock you vest
In blank *Iambic*, and its varied rest!
One edict further if your preface goes,
Adieu to poetry, and all is prose;
Nor *Goth* nor *Vandal* has the muse undone,
But you, alas, her rime-distasting son! 200
By fetters, as you call them, Goths design'd
Not to enslave, but to relieve the mind;
By due recurrence of a kindred sound
To give their verse its true harmonious bound;
Or, in their sacred or historic rimes,
Best to record the work of ancient times;
Best to instruct and edify the throng,
Or cheer their hearts with memorable song.
Tho' rough their speech, and its improvement small,
It gave them Rimes, and made amends for all. 210

What language, Sir, in European Sphere,
Does not this Gothic force of sound revere?
What poet is there whom this critic's haste,
Does not condemn for certainly bad taste?
Not that I plead prescription, but excuse
For not consenting to destroy its use,—
Secure of candour in you to dispense
With what occurs in honest rime's defence.

191. *Excursion such as this.* An occasional experiment in blank verse such as Mr. Comberbach's.

192. *Nor takes the Muse amiss.* An inversion for: and (which) the Muse does not take amiss.

214. *Certainly bad taste.* The "certainly" appears to refer to some confident expression of critical opinion by Mr. Comberbach, which I am unable to quote. Cf. 1. 248, *infra*.

The vacant minds that come into your views,
And think to rescue, will but rob the Muse ;
If what you call a fashionable chain
Is no encumbrance, as you here maintain,
But an advantage, which the muse must teach,—
A varied rest that ancients could not reach.

220

By your account of Rime one would suppose
That the same sound all periods must close.
This may be irksome,—but 'tis not the case ;
For varied rime affords a varied grace.
No need of sameness to recur so oft,
As does the pause of your Iambic soft ;
Which tho' you ring no artful changes thro'
(The bells for lyric measures are too few) ;
Tho' justly quite and pausingly belyr'd,—
The rime is wanting and the ear is tir'd,
Tho' tied to quantity,—as if it saw
No dispensation for so just a law.

230

Your *Country Life* will suffer no neglect
But that of Rime ; yet what is the effect ?
Why, that without it all the arts beside
Cannot resist the torrent of the tide.
Descriptive beauties that with Horace vie
In British lyrics, want the British tie ;
All are dispers'd without this tie across,
And ev'ry scatter'd beauty mourns its loss,—
A loss which, if you think it worth your care,

240

231 seqq. Which tho' you ring no artful changes thro', &c. Although you ring no artificial changes on the pause in your blank verse, which contains in itself too little variety for lyric measures, notwithstanding that you treat your measure with perfect lyrical propriety and attention

to the pauses, &c. "Belyre" is not a prettily formed word. Robert Lloyd has, in his *Poetry Professors*:

"As when their ancestors bevers'd
That glorious Stuart, James the First."

242. The British tie. I.e., rime.

A skill like yours can easily repair.
 (Distaste of rime if you can once get o'er,
 And then retract, to "certify" no more,)
 Can leave to plays and fictions blank sublime,
 And take your Virgil's glowing warmth and rime.

250

If still averse, consider, Sir, how hard
 From rime it is to wean a riming bard ;
 The danger too that partly you foretell
 Of an affected pomp and painful swell,—
 Too plain at present, and too likely lot
 Of future blank attempters ;—but, if not,
 Who will assist the poor Goth-fetter'd muse,
 If you yourself cry rescue—and refuse ?
 Who will support your sentiment, if true,
 Or give a fairer sample than you do ?
 Or true or false, whatever one may say,
 Fairly proposed, it ought to have fair play.
 One thing, in fine, we both of us may think :
 "Let rime, if reason be against it, sink.
 But, if on reason rime bestows a grace,
 Flourish the verse that gives them both a place!"

260

Thus, Sir, with freedom and without disguise,
 I speak my simple notions as they rise,—

248. To "certify" no more. Cf. note to l. 214, ante.

249. And fictions. This might seem to mean epics, as Robert Lloyd, *u.s.*, argues :

"That rime will readily admit
 Of fancy, numbers, force and wit ;
 But though each couplet has its strength
 It palls in works of epic length."
 If so, however, the reference to Vergil in
 the next line is infelicitous.

250. *Virgil's glowing warmth and rime.*
 For an enumeration of the "rimes" in
 Vergil see Trench, *u.s.*, p. 29. They in-
 clude the "middle rime" (*Ecl. viii. 80*) :
 "Limus ut hic durescit, et haec ut cera
 liquescit;"

and a series of not less than nine instances
 of "final rime," such as *Æn.*, v. 385-6 :
 "Cuncti simul ore fremebant
 Dardanidae, reddique viro promissa jube-
 bant."

Less willing to object against your plan,
Than to receive conviction, if I can.
But where a friend requires, I think it just
To play the critic and fulfil the trust ;
And then, for fear of being prepossest,
I leave the judgment to my friend's own breast.

270

P.S.—

Since this, as yours, induced me on the book
Of ancient Horace to bestow a look,—
Led like a packhorse by preceding chimes,
To tread the tract, the beaten tract, of rimes,—
I pick'd up such as lay upon the road,
To fit the gen'ral topics of his Ode,
To please the sense, while in her riming cue,
Not with intent to vie with him or you ;
For you may find much greater fault in this,
Than I in yours.——However, here it is.

280

I.

HAPPY the mortal who can now,
Like men of ancient set,
With his own oxen acres plough
Paternal, clear of Debt !

II.

He neither hears the trump of war,
Nor dreads the raging main,
The clamours of the noisy Bar,
Nor haughty Cit's disdain.

290

III.

Shoots of his own luxuriant vine
With poplars pleas'd to wed,

Useless to lop, or, if they pine,
Plant happier in their stead ;

IV.

To view his lowing herds that roam
Around the valley deep ;
To press the honey from the comb,
Or shear his languid sheep.

300

V.

Now, stretch'd some agèd oak beside,
Now, in th' imprinted grass,
While from the rocks the waters glide,
He hears the feather'd class.

VI.

Woods echo still their plaintive song ;
Brooks murmur through the fields ;
To gentle slumbers, laid along,
The happy rustic yields.

VII.

Soon as th' autumnal Year prepares
The weather's wint'ry store,
With many a dog to destin'd snares
He drives the bristly boar ;

310

VIII.

Or net suspends in slender poles,
To catch delightful game :
The tim'rous hare, or bird that prowls
Voracious, wild or tame.

IX.

While thus amus'd, and thus employ'd,
 Who is there that would heed,
 Would all the mischiefs dire abide,
 That love is wont to breed ?

320

X.

Or, if a chaste, endearing wife
 His rural bliss shall share,
 She cheers the neat domestic life,
 Sweet prattling babes her care.

XI.

With smoth'ring warmth prepared to burn,
 The dry old log she lays,
 And, if her weary spouse return,
 Revives the focal blaze.

XII.

Of folded flocks, from dales and hills,
 The milky treasure stor'd,
 Fresh clean-brew'd wine she draws, and fills
 With cheer unbought the board.

330

317 seqq. While thus accus'd, &c. I quote the last twelve lines of the portion of the epode translated by Byrom in Comberbach's blank verse rendering : "Who thus amus'd, forgets not soon Love's soft distress? Perchance, A chaste and loving wife keeps neat His house and charming babes; Her part sustaining (happy state Of wedlock, often found Beneath thatch'd roof) laborious, swift And sun-burnt, she betimes Uprising, wholesome breakfast sets

In order; or at ev'n, Her weary spouse expecting, rears The cheerful fire; now drains Her milky charge, rejoic'd to quit Their swelling load, now crowns The sparkling bowl, and freely heaps With cheer unbought the board." It should perhaps be noticed that Byrom omits any rendering of the lines (vv. 41-2 in the original), to which his competitor at least alludes :

"*Sabina qualis, aut perusta solibus
Pernicis uxor Apuli.*"

And here, the Muse, retiring, bid me note,
The rural Epode ends that Horace wrote.
This, Sir, to me, I must confess, was new,
Strange at first thought, but upon second true.
“*Non me Lucrina juverint conchylia,*”
Looks of his muse so like another *filia*,
That, if you turn to Horace, you may find
Sufficient reasons to be of my mind. 340
Another verse, tho’ both for measure twins,
On “*fenerator Alfius*” begins.
“*Beatus ille*” had completed quite,
The rural day’s description with its night ;
Too late, too botching on a fair survey,
The forc’d and stiff transition to——“*Non me*” ;
Where Horace paints an usurer grown warm
About his own, and not another’s form.
His “*oves, boves, verna, lares,*” all
Bespeak the landlord at his country hall,
Struck with a sudden sense of homely bliss, 350
That avarice soon taught him to dismiss.

334. *The rural Epode ends that Horace wrote.* In the lines which he has appended as a Postscript, Byrom indulges in one of those daring flights of textual criticism, for which Bentley had implanted in him an ineradicable fondness (see especially below *Critical Remarks, &c., upon several Passages in Horace*). In the present instance he laid his finger on an obvious dissimilarity of treatment in the two parts distinguished by him in this famous epode. Commentators have endeavoured to account for this dissimilarity by supposing the entire poem to have an ironical signification, and even by suggesting that Horace (which seems very unlikely) intended to satirise his own situation after receiving from Mæcenas the gift of

his Sabine form. All this seems to me nearly as improbable as Byrom’s conjecture is baseless. What, on the other hand, could be more likely than that Horace after writing the earlier part of the epode in one mood, wrote the second in another? And one may join in the wish which was the origin of Byrom’s thought,—that Horace had stopped at the point where his translator stopped for him.

337. *Non me, &c.* This is the first line of the untranslated portion of the epode.

348. *A usurer grown warm.* It would seem, however, on other evidence, that Alfius was a man fond of uttering sentiments, if not of sentiment: a tendency quite compatible with a recognised position on the stock-exchange.

Another topic and another style
 Begins your own : "Great Britain, plenteous isle!"
 Just imitator, fairly you forbore
 To force coherence with what went before ;
 "My fleecy care," as rightly you explain,
 "My wearied oxen," and "my vassal train,"
 Give a distinctive hint, from whence to date
 The speech relating to the miser's fate.

360

More likely, then, that to a diff'rent song
 "*Beatus ille*" and "*Non me*" belong.
 In one, the poet on description bent,
 The country life exhausted his intent :
 A fair sufficient and well finish'd theme,
 Take it without the "*fenerator*" seam.
 Another subjeet was the money'd squire,
 When gentle satire touch'd the poet's lyre,
 Play'd off a speech more suitably concise
 To a short fruitless interval of vice.

370

And yet, in length (for here, one may forebode
 Objection) equal to the following Ode ;
 Same measure too, or, if insisted on,
 Some other reasons why the Ode is one.
 They best account for the mistake, who threw
 Into one Ode what Horace meant for two.
 Brief,—to the miser his "*Non me*" award,
 His own "*Beatus ille*" to the bard !

354. *Great Britain.* Comberbach entitled his version "*An Ode upon the British Country Life.*"

371-2. In length . . . equal to the following ode. *Epode iii. (Ad Mæcenatem)* is, like the latter portion of *Epode ii.*, twenty-two lines in length.

VERSES ON THE ATTACK UPON ADMIRAL BYNG IN THE "MONITOR."

[These stanzas, which are reprinted from *Remains*, ii. 585-8, are, it will be seen, dated March 16th, 1757, two days after Byng had actually been shot, on board the *Monarque*, in Portsmouth Harbour. Clearly, however, when Byrom wrote these verses, which do credit to his insight and still more to the unfailing humanity of his spirit, he was unaware that all was over. His interest in the case is further attested by the circumstance that his Library contains Admiral Byng's *Appeal to the People*, containing his *Genuine Letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty, Observations on those parts omitted in the Gazette, &c.* Part I. 8vo., London, 1756. (See Catalogue, p. 44.)

It is unnecessary here to enter at length upon the facts of the case, which have been impartially stated by Lord Stanhope and other historians. The loss of Minorca in June, 1757, and its attendant circumstances, brought about at home one of those prolonged and inflated movements of popular resentment, which nothing short of an extraordinary effort of genius or character can baulk of its immediate object. And this object was in the present instance the life of Admiral Byng.

King George II. took the popular view, and the Duke of Newcastle, the head of the ministry, was the last man to run counter to the opinion of the day. He was, however, no longer Prime Minister, when the Court Martial sat, which, while acquitting Byng of cowardice or disaffection, thought itself in duty bound to place the most rigid interpretation upon the further charge of negligence preferred against him under the 12th Article of War, and to sentence him to death accordingly, though at the same time earnestly recommending him to mercy. The *bona fides* of the Court in this decision must be allowed; but there remained the Sovereign's prerogative of mercy, for the application of which everything except the popular voice and the inclination of the King concurred to call. "There can be no doubt," writes a historian of singularly independent mind, "that their recommendation ought to have prevailed. The unhappy offender was completely exonerated from the only charge

which, according to the rigorous exigency of the service, could justly affect life—that, namely, of wilful betrayal of his trust.” (Massey, *History of England during the reign of George III.* (1865), i. 19.) Pitt, now at the head of the ministry, exerted himself, though perhaps not to the utmost of his power (if it be remembered what that power was), to induce George II. to give effect to the recommendation of the Court. The House of Commons feebly supported the minister by a temporising bill for absolving the members of the Court Martial from their Oath of Secrecy, which it was unable to sustain against the House of Lords, after the latter had instituted a preliminary examination of the members. Thus Byng fell a victim to a complicated system of government, no factor in which could be made distinctly responsible for his death. For a curious quasi-parallel see the account of the treatment of Field-Marshal von Heddersdorf after the capitulation of Heidelberg to the French in 1693 (A. Schulte, *Markgraf Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden*, Karlsruhe, 1892, i. 113 seqq. But his life was spared.) The best “encouragement” conveyed by Byng’s story is that under no form of government is such an outrage upon humanity likely to occur, unless occasionally.

I append some curious extracts from Charles Johnston’s novel *Chrysal, or The Adventures of a Guinea*, vol. iii. chaps. vi. and vii. (2nd ed., 1775, in which vols. iii. and iv. seem to have been new), which, suggested perhaps in the first instance by the famous chapter in *Candide*, seems intended to tell, under a thin veil, the story of Admiral Byng. “His arrival in England presented him” [Chrysal’s uncle] “with a scene . . . On his entering the harbour, he found the boats of all the men-of-war there drawn up around one ship, in which was displayed the dreadful signal of the execution of the commander.” . . . He had given up “the honour of his country by flying from an enemy, whom he might have vanquished, and who had fled from him before.” . . . “The consequence of so strange a conduct was, the nation took fire; and with one voice demanded satisfaction for such a sacrifice of their interest and honour. He was therefore not only deprived of his command, but also sent home a prisoner; and after suffering every indignity and abuse which the rage of a licentious populace broken loose from all bounds could suggest, brought to his trial, found guilty of neglecting to do all in his power to destroy the enemy, and for that crime has this day suffered the sentence of the law;—a sentence not more unexpected by him, and

extraordinary in itself, than in the manner in which it was passed, and afterwards attempted to be reversed, by those who had passed it, when they reflected on the danger of establishing a precedent that might one day come to themselves. . . . [He was] *sacrificed to the humour of the times.*"]

Wednesday, March 16th, 1757.

I.

WHAT *Monitor's* here! What a *British Freeholder*!
Of judgment and death what a merciless moulder!
Whether Admiral Byng has been guilty or not,
Has deserv'd to be spar'd or deserv'd to be shot,
No British freeholder who holds himself free,
Is oblig'd to determine before he can see,
And pursue him with keen British foxhunter's hurry,
Who, when he gives law, is determin'd to worry.

II.

To soften law's rigours by equity's plan
Humanity often admonishes man; IO
Too apt to forget his own shortness of breath,
And to hasten, for others, the sentence of death,—
Very seldom oppos'd, when the crime is so plain
That the known to be guilty deserve to be slain;
But when it is doubtful, all freedom and sense
Will, before execution, choose proper suspense.

III.

If the name of a paper can make a man wiser,
Of "*British Freeholder*," or "*Night Advertiser*,"

1. *What MONITOR'S here!* What a BRITISH FREEHOLDER! The first number of the *Monitor, or British Freeholder*, was published August 9th, 1755, and the last July 3rd, 1759. This popular political paper was originally planned by

Alderman Beckford. LOWNDES, s. v.

18. *Or NIGHT ADVERTISER.* Doubtless a mere poetical licence. An *Evening*—or *Morning*—*Advertiser* must have existed during the greater part of the history of the British Press.

Byng must be dispatch'd ; and it does mighty well,
 For the mob to be pleas'd, and the paper to sell.
 But, if justice, and wisdom, and value for laws
 Whose sounds are so urg'd in so killing a cause,
 Are to have their true meaning, the *Monitor's* haste
 In the British freeholders will raise a distaste.

20

IV.

What sense in his motto ? Though, choosing of that,
 To be sure Overshotter would seek the most pat.
 "'Tis a sample of wisdom that guarded the King
 And secur'd his good subjects" ;—apply it to Byng !
 "Our laws," says the motto, " shall suffer no change."
 Now, if Byng must be shot, sure the logic is strange ;
 For nothing condemn'd him, his judges all saw,
 But a change that had lately been made in the law.

30

V.

Though oblig'd to interpret the article thus
 By "*Summum*" (or "*Summa injuria*") "*jus*,"

25. *What sense in his motto?* Evidently the time-honoured motto which has adorned the title-page of so many books and periodicals : "*Nolumus leges Angliae mutari.*"

32. *A change that had lately been made in the law.* "The language of the Article" (the 12th Article of War under which Byng was condemned to death) "is perfectly clear and explicit, limiting its scope to those persons who shall commit the offences detailed 'through cowardice, negligence or disaffection.' When, therefore, the court found Byng guilty under this article, and at the same time acquitted him of cowardice and disaffection, it did really, and with all the plainness of which the English language is capable, find him guilty of negligence — of negligence so

gross as to be in the highest degree criminal . . . West, and all Byng's supporters, insisting on the novelty, the unheard-of nature of the sentence, and the severity of the law which permitted no alternative, or the absurdity of the law which took all discretionary power from the court, lost sight of the fact that it was the gross abuse of this discretionary power in a score of instances during the last war which had forced the parliament to abolish it ; that absolute necessity had led to the passing of this stringent act only eight years before, and that, as these had been years of peace, it was still in effect new." Professor J. K. Laughton, art. *Byng, John*, in vol. viii. of the *Dictionary of National Biography.*

Their notion of justice (which ought to be, still,
The intent of the law, though its letter should kill)
Which conscience inspir'd in so hard an affair,
Occasion'd from them an unanimous pray'r,
That a mercy so just in his case might be shown,
And themselves be reliev'd by the voice of the Throne. 40

VI.

Will the treating of conscience, and of the Court-martial,
In the *Monitor's* strain, as if all had been partial,
Forbid one to see, in this Admiral's case,
A reason sufficient for respiting grace ?
How oft does an object, whom judges report
Who yet have condemn'd him, find mercy at court ?
“ A comméndable attribute this, to be sure ! ”—
Why, then, when a Court so desires, it abjure ?

VII.

If not to be shown to so strong a request,
When must it prevail in monarchical breast ? 50
A King, it should seem, has express'd a desire,
On the fairest occasion, for time to enquire,—
And a *Monitor* comes, with his duty turn'd sour,
To talk to freeholders of absolute pow'r ;
That mercy may yield to the voice of the crowd,
Not because it is right, but because it is loud.

VIII.

And what proof has he brought for the merciless side ?
“ Why, the people condemn'd him, before he was tried !

51. *A King, it should seem, has express'd a desire, &c.* Admiral Byng was actually respite by the King's orders at the beginning of March, while the bill was in pro-

gress to absolve the Members of the Court Martial from their oath of secrecy, with a view to supposed disclosures which they had to make in relation to the sentence.

Their resentment was just at the very first brunt ;
 But the Court, if it durst have acquitted, had done't,
 For private acquaintance," the *Monitor* knows, 60
 " They proceeded to hazard the public repose,
 And the union of King and of subjects so good :
 Whose cement, as it seems, was the Admiral's blood.—

IX.

Now, had it been true that this laudable nation
 Was never misled by misrépresentation,
 It were something ; or else, why should Admirals die
 To secure the repose of a popular cry ?
 The one single fact for which mercy's denier
 Can quote this harangue of a popular cryer, 70
 Who measures the wisdom of nation and throne
 By cruel conceits which he has of his own !

X.

Whether sailors condemn'd an unfortunate brother,
 Because, as he hints it, they durst do no other ;
 Whether urging of conscience was wrong, or was right,
 Though, according to him, it had reason to smite ;
 Whether twenty surmises that readers may meet,
 When a man must amuse them and fill up his sheet,
 Have a ground or no ground whereupon to believe :
 What chance for the knowing, without a reprieve ? 80

XI.

Should mercy rekindle so gentle a spark
 Will the man run away, thinks he, from the *Monarque* ?
 Or will justice be hurt, if a proper delay
 Should banish all doubt that he had not fair play ?
 " But a merciful turn will be thought somewhat worse
 In the ages to come."—What a notion to nurse !

Of human condemners all history's pages
Secure, to the slow, the applause of all ages.

XII.

So much for the *Monitor*, sent yesterday,
And reflexions upon it that fell in one's way !
As a servant came for it this morning, perhaps,
It has pass'd through the hands of more politic chaps ;
Who change not their laws, but will hear the man teach
How to snatch at a sentence—but just within reach ;
Though the freehold belongs, of so legal a snatch,
No none but the race of—*Johannes de Catch* !

90

96. *Johannes de Catch.* Jack Ketch, the executioner of Russell, Monmouth, &c.

REMARKS ON DR. BROWN'S ESTIMATE.

WRITTEN IN THE CHARACTER OF A LADY.

[Brown's *Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times* appeared (anonymously) in 1757. Byrom's stanzas, where (l. 8) the book is spoken of as in its fifth edition, must have been written in this year or in 1758, when the seventh edition was reached, or announced to have been reached. A prefatory advertisement stated that "the leading *Principles*, which run thro' the following *Estimate*, make a small part of a much more extensive Work, pursued on the general Subject of Manners;" and mentioned as a reason for the actual incomplete publication the important and alarming character of the existing "crisis." But the second volume, which followed immediately, although containing some noteworthy additional matter, and showing its author to have been an intelligent student of higher political literature, is merely a commentary on the first, or an *apologia* for it.]

John Brown was born in 1715 at Rothbury in Northumberland, and, after graduating B.A. from St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1735, was successively Minor Canon at Carlisle, incumbent of Great Horkesbury near Colchester, and of St. Nicholas, Newcastle. He died, by his own hand, in 1766, having probably long suffered from occasional mental derangement. Brown was beyond doubt a man who, while he contrived to catch the ear of his generation, thought for himself, and with a clearness which reflected itself in his style. (For a sketch of his career see Mr. Leslie Stephen's notice of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. vii.) He was the author of an *Essay upon Satire, occasioned by the death of Mr. Pope* (1745), where Pope's literary executor is referred to in terms all the more complimentary from the conjunction in which he is introduced. The passage concludes with the one well-remembered line in the poem :

"Dædalian arguments but few can trace,
But all can screw the Muscles of their Face :

Hence, mighty Ridicule's all-conquering Hand
Shall work Herculean Wonders thro' the Land ;
Bound in the Magic of her Cobweb chain
Great Warburton shall rage, but rage in vain ;
Truth's sacred Prize the loudest Horse-laugh win,
And Coxcombs vanquish Berkeley by a grin."

Mindful of this tribute, Warburton (although the deadliest venom of hostile satire had not yet been ejected upon him) included Brown's poem in his edition of Pope's *Works*; as an appendix to which it is, in truth, not altogether misplaced. The contrast elaborated in it between the satire of Pope and that of Dryden may not be altogether just; but the lines concerning the earlier poet at least are indisputably powerful, and winged with sincere indignation. To Warburton's suggestion were due Brown's *Essays on Characteristics* (1751), directed against Shaftesbury's well-known work, and testifying by the mere fact of its date to this writer's enduring influence (see LESLIE STEPHEN, *History of English Thought*, &c., ii. 44-5). He also wrote two tragedies, entitled *Athelstane* and *Barbarossa*, which were successively produced by Garrick at Drury Lane in 1754 and 1756. Of the earlier of these Genest speaks disparagingly; the other he describes as "a tolerably good play." His later works were unsuccessful; his *magnum opus* on the *Principles of Christian Legislation* he left behind him unpublished, and it never saw the light; and the application of his educational theories or principles to the establishment of a system of schools and to other measures for the advancement of civilisation in Russia was frustrated by the final break-down of his health.

By far the most successful of his multifarious productions was the work discussed by Byrom in the following stanzas, which appeared, as already stated, in 1757. Macaulay in his *Essay on Chatham* has vividly described the nature and origin of its success. After the series of disasters with which, so far as Great Britain was concerned, the Seven Years' War commenced, and which culminated in the shameful loss of Minorca, "the nation was," he writes, "in a state of angry and sullen despondency, almost unparalleled in history. People have, in all ages, been in the habit of talking about the good old times of their ancestors, and the degeneracy of their contemporaries. This is in general merely

a cant. But in 1756 it was something more. At this time appeared Brown's *Estimate*, a book now remembered only by the allusions in Cowper's *Table-Talk* and in Burke's *Letters on a Regicide Peace*." (In Cowper's *Table-Talk*, which it should be noticed was written as late as 1780-1, we have the following interchange of censures (ll. 384 seqq.) :

- "A. The inestimable *Estimate* of Brown
Rose like a paper-kite, and charmed the town ;
But measures, planned and executed well,
Shifted the wind that raised it, and it fell.
He trod the very self-same ground you tread,
And victory refuted all he said.
- B. And yet his judgment was not framed amiss ;
Its error, if it erred, was merely this :
He thought the dying hour really come,
And a complete recovery struck him dumb.")

Still later, Burke, when, before the opening of peace negotiations by Pitt with the French Directory in 1796, he wrote the First (*i.e.*, the first published) of his *Letters on a Regicide Peace*, adduced in his opening remarks the following illustration of his maxim that "because the pulse seems to intermit, we must not presume that it will cease instantly to beat. The public must never be regarded as incurable":

"I remember, in the beginning of what has lately been called the Seven Years' War, that an eloquent writer and ingenious speculator, Dr. Brown, upon some reverses which happened in the beginning of that war, published an elaborate philosophical discourse to prove that the distinguishing features of the people of England had been totally changed, and that a frivolous effeminacy was become the national character. Nothing could be more popular than that work. It was thought a great consolation to us, the light people of this country (who were and are light, but who were not and are not effeminate), that we had found the causes of our misfortunes in our vices. Pythagoras could not be more pleased with his leading discovery. But whilst in that splenetic mood we amused ourselves in a sour critical speculation of which we were ourselves the objects, and in which every man lost his particular sense of the public disgrace in the splenetic nature of the distemper ; whilst, as in the Alps, *goître* kept *goître* in countenance ; whilst we were thus

abandoning ourselves to a direct confession of our inferiority to France, and whilst many, very many, were ready to act upon a sense of that inferiority, a few months effected a total change in our variable minds. We emerged from the gulf of that speculative despondency, and were buoyed up to the highest point of practical vigour. Never did the masculine spirit of England display itself with more energy, nor ever did its genius soar with a prouder pre-eminence over France, than at the time when frivolity and effeminacy had been at least tacitly acknowledged as their national character by the good people of this kingdom."

The book, Macaulay continues, "was universally read, admired, and believed. The author fully convinced his readers that they were a race of cowards and scoundrels ; that nothing could save them ; that they were on the point of being enslaved by their enemies, and that they richly deserved their fate. Such were the speculations to which ready credence was given at the outset of the most glorious war in which England had ever been engaged."

Mr. Leslie Stephen (*u.s.*, ii. 195–199), has given a more dispassionate estimate of the *Estimate* than either Burke or Macaulay, who alike introduced it primarily for the sake of an effective antithesis. Even from this point of view the book should be remembered as one of the earliest symptoms of the change, to which it was after its kind even a sort of contributory factor, and which was to put an end to the torpor of the Pelham period. But, apart from this, it was also, in Mr. Stephen's phrase, "a vigorous indictment against the English nation." Of Brown's two main charges against English society—its effeminacy and its factiousness, Byrom practically takes up the former only ;—partly, no doubt, because of the character (that of a lady) by whom his strictures are supposed to be advanced. But the invective of the *Estimate* is equally telling on both heads. In my judgment, Brown's indictment of the "manners" of his times was, historically speaking, as a whole neither intemperate nor unjust ; although in some particulars his charges overshot the mark, and in one or two (such as the attack on Hume) went astray altogether. In certain respects, moreover, such as the reflexions on the existing methods of higher education, as to which Brown might, by the way, have appealed to the convictions of Byrom himself, his criticisms were not only just, but far-sighted (cf., on this head, a recognition of Brown's insight in C. J. ABBEY, *The English Church and its Bishops*, &c., i. 327). No doubt

Brown's remarks on the growth of selfish indulgence and personal greed among the officers of our army and navy, and his contention that the tendency to low spirits and nervous disorders in the people at large were breeding a spirit of cowardice such as had already exhibited itself at the time of the Rebellion of 1745, were, in a sense, contradicted by the exertions which were crowned by the glorious national achievements that were so speedily to ensue. It is unnecessary to vindicate the author of the *Estimate*, by citing, like the editor of B in his Introductory Note to the following stanzas, the opinion of Voltaire (in a passage on which I cannot put my finger in the *Siecle de Louis XV.* or elsewhere), that Brown's work "roused the sensibility of the English nation, and produced the following consequences:—They attacked almost at the same time all the sea-coasts of France and her possessions in Asia, Africa, and America." It seems to me more to the purpose to observe that the phenomenon noted by Brown (whether after too generalising a fashion or not, I am unable to say) possesses some pathological interest; curiously enough, it is only a year or two ago that the prevalence of nervous disorders, especially among children, was said to be greatly occupying the physicians of Berlin. The military decay of Germany has not, however, as yet begun. On the whole, although Brown's observations on the standstill of our population and on its gin-drinking habits are not to be overlooked, he rather coolly omits "the common People" from the range of his censures. This is, however, logical enough, on the principle enunciated in the *Estimate*, that "though the Sum-total of a Nation's immediate Happiness must arise, and be estimated, from the Manners and Principles of the Whole, yet the Manners and Principles of those who *lead*, not of those who *are led*; of those who *govern*, not of those who *are governed*; of those, in short, who *make Laws* or *execute them*, will ever determine the Strength or Weakness, and therefore the Continuance or Dissolution of a State." The problem has no doubt become more complicated, since we have had masters whom it behoves us to educate.

In conclusion: it is not very easy to understand what had excited Byrom's spleen against an essay, "pessimistic," so to speak, in tone (though the author had at the outset guarded his pessimism by certain judicious admissions on the other side of the question), but manifestly wanting neither in good-sense nor in high-mindedness. These were

qualities which should have appealed to Byrom in the face of literary short-comings of which, for a critic whose spirit of fairness rarely deserts him, I incline to think he makes too much. A certain disjointedness may justify the epithets "rambling" and "scrambling"; but the Essay as a whole cannot fairly be said to exhibit the want of directness implied either in the further epithets "florid and polite," or in the derisive phrase "prose Pindaric." Very possibly, Byrom's lofty conception of the clerical office, which corresponded to that delineated by his "Master" Law in his *Earnest and Serious Answer* to Dr. Trapp, may have taken offence at the worldliness not easily separable from the combative variety of patriotism. (See the reproof insinuated in stanza V. against "Divines" for mixing themselves up on either side with such mundane questions.) And again, Byrom's Jacobite sentiments may have been provoked. The *Estimate* had, to be sure, severely castigated the corrupt administrative system which had reached its climax under Walpole and the Pelhams (the observations on Walpole were afterwards developed in vol. ii. into a remarkably well-balanced special "estimate" of that statesman). But less to Byrom's taste must have been the reflexions cast on the Jacobites in England, "who, while the hardy Scots risked their Lives in a strange Country, amidst the Inclemencies of a severe Season, sat like Cowards by the Chimney Corner, tamely wishing the Success of their Mischief, which their effeminate Manners durst not propagate." (See *Estimate*, &c., 7th edition, i. 91-2; cf. also in ii. 141 the attack upon the Papists, who "have at their Head a Pretender to his Majesty's Throne and Kingdom, who regards the Inhabitants of this Nation, not as his Subjects, but his Cattle"; and see note to l. 52, *ad fin.*) However this may be, Byrom's stanzas cannot be described as powerful; and he must be supposed to have been conscious of this when he, not very gallantly, put them into the mouth of an imaginary female critic.]

I.

THE Book appears, to my perusing Sight,
So rambling, scrambling, florid, and polite,
That, tho' a *manly* skill may trace the Clue,
A simple *Female* knows not what to do :—

Where to begin Remark, or where to close,
Lost in a thousand—Beauties, I suppose.

II.

One seeming Proof of such a Coalition
Of num'rous Beauties is—a fifth Edition ;
As, reading Authors, I have just now found
In the *Whitehall* : “Price Three and Six-pence, bound.” 10
Many a good Book, but less of Print concise,
Less clean of Margin, sells for half the Price.

III.

So that the Nation grows in Books, ‘tis plain,
“Luxurious, effeminate and vain” :
That is, the Purchasers,—or, if I durst,
I would have said the Writers of ‘em first ;

7. Specious proof.—B.

9. As I have, reading authors, just.—B.

8. *A fifth edition.* There seems to have been some scepticism as to the seven editions through which the book professed to have run in little more than a year. See the passage from Dr. J. H. Burton’s *Life of Hume*, ii. 2, quoted by Dr. G. Birkbeck Hill in his edition of Boswell’s *Life of Johnson*, ii. 131, note : “Dr. Brown’s book is said to have run to a seventh edition in a few months. It is rather singular that the edition marked as the seventh has precisely the same matter in each page, and the same number of pages as the first.” They manage these things, now-a-days at all events, much better in France.

9. *Reading Authors.* Running over the announcements of publications.

10. In the WHITEHALL : “Price Three and Six-pence, bound.” The “Whitehall” was the “*Whitehall Evening Post*,” which on one occasion at least inserted verses by

Byrom himself (see *Remains*, i. 393, s.a., 1729). Brown’s *Estimate* was published by L. Davis and C. Beymars, Booksellers in Holborn. The cavil at the price is captious, and the deduction futile. On the fly-leaf of the book the same publishers advertise Brown’s Essays on Shaftesbury’s *Characteristics* at 5s. and a translation of Voltaire’s slender *History of Charles XII.* at the same price. The margin of the *Estimate* (“7th edition”) is to be sure ample; and there are not more than twenty-one lines of print to the page. *Quis vituperabit?*

14. *Luxurious, effeminate, and vain.* “The Character of the Manners of our Times . . . , on a fair Examination, will probably appear to be that of a ‘vain, luxurious, and selfish EFFEMINACY.’” (*Estimate*, i. 29; Part i. Sec. v.)

And the "luxuriant" Framer of this Plan,
First of the first, should be the leading Man.

IV.

Somewhere, before the Middle of the Book,
It seems, the AUTHOR, whom I really took
But for a POLITICIAN, was in fine, 20
To my Surprise, a PROTESTANT DIVINE,—
A PROTESTANT DIVINE, in whose high Flight
The "Question capital" is: "Who shall fight?"

22. *A PROTESTANT DIVINE.* The author of the *Estimate* (i. 83; Part i. Sec. ii.), which was published anonymously, thus discloses his profession: "Of this, at least, one of the Order may decently remind his Countrymen, that when the *English Protestant Clergy*, and that Christianity which they teach, were most honoured and respected at *Home, England* was then most honoured and respected *Abroad*."

In vol. ii. pp. 121 seqq., Brown (not perhaps without cause) enters into an elaborate "Apology for himself," in reply to strictures on his charge against the English clergy of "wandering about, as the various Seasons invite, to every Scene of false Gaiety."

24. *The "Question capital," &c.* "It hath been urged indeed, as a Proof that the national Spirit of Defence is not yet extinguished, that we raised such large Sums during that Rebellion" (the '45), "and still continue such plentiful Supplies for the Support of our Fleets and Armies. This is weak Reasoning. For will not Cowardice, at least as soon as Courage, part with a Shilling or a Pound, to avoid Danger? The capital Question therefore still

remains, not 'Who shall Pay, but Who shall Fight?'" (*Estimate*, i. 92; Part i. Sec. iii.) See also (*ib.*, i. 197 seqq.; Part ii. Sec. viii.) the argument against the affirmation of Dr. Davenant that "now, the whole Art of War is in a Manner reduced to Money: and now-a-days that Prince who can best find Money to feed, clothe, and pay his army, not he that hath the most valiant Troops, is surest of Success and Conquest." Dr. Charles Davenant, the eldest son of the poet and dramatist, and a political and economical writer of considerable reputation, although referred to as a "divine" by Byrom in l. 25, never took Orders, and as he left Oxford without a degree, the source of his LL.D. is uncertain. His attack upon unconscientious clergymen in his *Essays upon the Balance of Power* (1701) drew down upon him the Censure of Convocation. Davenant's family traditions, while not interfering with his loyalty to the régime introduced by the Revolution, led him to attack its ministerial abuses with great freedom. In his *Essays upon Peace at Home and War Abroad*, dedicated to Lord Halifax (1704), however, he abandoned all faction and urged all parties to unite in

V.

Not, "Who shall *pay?*"—as some Divines have plann'd,
 One has heard tell, "the *capital* Demand";—
 Both needless Questions, when Divines arose
 Who neither sued their Friends, nor fought their Foes.
 Now, what more "vain, effeminate, luxurious,"
 Than Parson's Talk, so "*capitally*" furious? 30

VI.

Truly, the Works of Distaff and of Needle
 Are worth whole Volumes of courageous Tweedle,
 With the Sum total: "BRITONS! all be free;
 "Take the BROWN MUSKET up, and follow me;
 Let us be *strong*, be *hardy, sturdy, rough*;
 TILL WE ARE ALL BEATIFIED IN BUFF."

VII.

With Manners just the same, as we are told,
 Men are effeminate, and Women bold.

26. From what we hear, the.—B.

carrying on the great war. See the notice of Davenant, by Mr. Francis Watt, in vol. xvi. of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Other works of his, which Brown seems to have had particularly in view, were *An Essay upon Ways and Means of Supplying the War* (1695), and various essays upon Trade. As to Brown's general argument, its force cannot be denied; but the consciousness of "having the money too" is no doubt an effective stimulant of a certain kind of patriotic ardour.

32. *Courageous tweedle.* Twaddle about courage.

33. "BRITONS! all be free." There may be a reminiscence here of Whitehead's "Britons, rouse to deeds of death" (1758;

cf. infra, Remarks on Dr. Akenside's and Mr. Whitehead's Verses).

34. *The BROWN MUSKET.* This is a felicitous, though possibly unconscious, pun. The "Brown Bess" of the Crimean War will be remembered; but the "brown axe" figures in the Anglo-Saxon poem on the Battle of Maldon; and the use of the epithet "brown," in application to a sword, was common in our early ballads. (See Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, i. 300, note.)

36. *TILL WE ARE ALL BEATIFIED IN BUFF.* Byrom should not have put this profane circumlocution into his author's mouth.

37. *Men are effeminate and Women bold.*

If aught like Satire, or like Ridicule,
Should seem to rise, we must apply this Rule
To solve the Case—and so, I think, we may—
“It comes from Folly’s natural Display.”

40

VIII.

Person and Dress is left us to apply,
And little else, to know the Sexes by.
Characteristics, formerly made out,
Are now confounded by a present Rout :
All would be lost, if, as the Cassock warm,
With Rage as just the Petticoat should arm.

IX.

But while Men fight, both clergyfied and lay,
Who left but Women to cry : “Let us pray !”
While Men are marshalling in *Prose Pindaric*
Religion, Virtue, Warburton, and Garrick,

50

“It may probably be asked, why the ruling Manners of our Women have not been particularly delineated? The Reason is, because they are essentially the same with those of the Men, and are therefore included in this Estimate. The Sexes have now little other apparent Distinction, beyond that of Person and Dress: their peculiar and characteristic Manners are confounded and lost; the one Sex being advanced in *Boldness*, as the other have sunk into *Effeminacy*.” (*Estimate*, i. 51; Part i. Sec. v.; cf. *ib.*, i. 125; Part ii. Sec. v.) “For as our Manners are degenerated into those of Women, so are our Weapons of Offence.” In vol. ii. pp. 79 *seqq.*, the author develops the *non-sequitur* that, though “the Manners of Women are always such as the Men choose to make

them,” . . . “such a System of Manners is now taking Place among our Women as is despised or detested by all Men.”

40. *If aught like Satire, or like Ridicule, &c.* “Thus we have attempted a simple Delineation of the ruling Manners of our Times: If anything like Ridicule appears to mix itself with this Review, it ariseth not from the *Aggravation*, but the natural *Display of Folly*.” (*Estimate*, i. 50-1; Part i. Sec. v.)

46. *By a present Rout.* By a masquerade of the day. This class of entertainment was all the more fashionable, because it was illegal.

52. **RELIGION, VIRTUE, WARBURTON and GARRICK.** The neglect of *religion* is treated by Brown in Sec. vi. of Part i., one of the least commendable Sections of

Women must pray, that Heav'n would yet annex
Some little Grace to the Talk-valiant Sex.

X.

“LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY” is the manly Sound
That clads in Armour all the Virtues round.

his *Essay*; for it contains the disgraceful attack on Hume. *Virtue*, or rather the Principle of Honour, is treated in this same Section, where it is asserted (p. 59) that “the honest Pride of *Virtue* is no more, or, where it happens to exist, is overwhelmed by inferior Vanities.”

To Warburton an extravagant series of compliments are paid in Part i. Sec. v. (i. 43 *seqq.*), where it is said that his “Force of Genius, and Extent of Knowledge, might almost redeem the Character of the Times,” and where petty scribblers are upbraided for attacking “with *poisoned Arrows* one whom they cannot subdue by *Strength*,” and to whom are applicable the words of Cassius on Cæsar :

“Why, Man, he doth bestride the narrow
World

Like a *Colossus*, &c.”

Garrick is adverted to in the same Section (p. 48) as “a great Genius” who “hath arisen to dignify the Stage; who, when it was sinking into the lowest Insipidity, restored it to the Fulness of its ancient Splendour, and with a Variety of Powers beyond Example, established *Nature, Shakespear, and Himself.*” “Brown owed much to Warburton,” and repaid him in the coin he had most readily at command; afterwards, when a coolness had for some time prevailed between them, he defended himself against Lowth on a charge of sycophancy to Warburton. Garrick was likewise an early friend, though his kindness in

bringing out Brown’s tragedies was rather marred by a line in his epilogue to *Barbarossa*, beginning “Let the poor devil eat.” Warburton, Garrick, and Brown are brought together in an amusing anecdote related by Mark Pattison in his essay on Warburton (*Essays*, ii. 147-8): “Dr. Brown was at one time an obsequious attendant on Warburton. Dr. Monsey once dined at Garrick’s in company with them both. After dinner, Garrick checked Monsey, who was running on in what Garrick thought too free a style. ‘Oh,’ said Brown, ‘you may be sure Dr. Monsey will restrain his humour before Dr. Warburton, as he is afraid of him.’” Monsey retorted, “I am afraid neither of Warburton nor of his jack-pudding!” “Afterwards,” adds Mr. Pattison, “Brown fell off from his allegiance. Two years before his melancholy end, he observed that he was sorry for having far overpainted Warburton” (Watson’s *Life of Warburton*, p. 586, from Davies’ *Life of Garrick*, i. 242). “I cannot bring myself,” said he, “to give up the freedom of my mind to Warburton, and therefore we do not agree. Dr. Hurd will never quarrel with him.”

Brown’s more than florid compliments to Warburton, and to the chief living representative of an art to which Byrom had a rooted aversion, were unlikely to predispose him in favour of their inditer.

56. *Clads* for “clothes.” This solecism is in both A and B.

Where is this lovely Country to be sought ?
Why, 'tis GREAT BRITAIN in their LITTLE Thought ;
And the two States, which these Divines advance,
The *Heav'n* of *England*, and the *Hell* of *France*. 60

XI.

Women must pray ; and,—if Divines can reach
No higher a Theology,—must preach.
This World—this Sea-bound Spot of it—may seem
The central Paradise, in *Men's* Esteem,
Who have great Souls ; but *Women*, who have none,
Have other Realms to fix their Hearts upon.

XII.

If such there be, the only certain Scheme
To guard against each possible Extreme
Is to put on, amidst the World's Alarms.
With a good Heart, our *real* Country's Arms : 70
FAITH, HOPE, and PATIENCE, from the Tow'rs above,
ALL-BEARING MEEKNESS, AND ALL-CONQU'RING LOVE.

59. *The two States.* The word is of course used here, by way of pun, both in its ordinary and in its theological sense.

63. *This World—this Sea-bound Spot of it.* There is undeniable strength in the irony of this passage, which seems to reflect both upon the immortal vaunts of the *Chorus to Henry V.* and upon later expressions of exultant insularity.

70. *Our REAL Country's. Epistle to the Hebrews, xi. 16 :* “But now they de-

sire a better country, that is, an heavenly : wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God : for He hath prepared for them a city.” Or Byrom may have been thinking of that part of the beautiful poem of Bernard of Cluny, which commences ; “*O bona Patria, lumina sobria te speculantur,*”

and which Dr. Neale's version has rendered so familiar to English ears (“For thee, O dear, dear country,” &c.).

REMARKS ON A PAMPHLET ENTITLED
EPISTLES TO THE GREAT, FROM
ARISTIPPUS IN RETIREMENT

IN A LETTER TO DR. S—.

[John Gilbert Cooper's three *Epistles to the Great, from Aristippus in Retirement*, were published in 1757. In illustration of their title, it may be added that the first of them, *The Retreat of Aristippus*, was addressed to his Grace the Duke of ******, and the second, *The Temper of Aristippus*, to Lady *****; the third, *The Apology of Aristippus*, being dedicated to ******, Esq. In 1758 followed a fourth Epistle, *The Call of Aristippus*, addressed to Mark Akenside (whom the author had previously extolled), in a strain of panegyric which, as Dyce well says (*Life of Akenside*, in Aldine edition of his Poems, p. xlviij.) "is rendered worthless by its extravagance;" and the whole are, in the reprint of Cooper's poems in Chalmers' *English Poets*, vol. xv., comprehended under the title *Epistles to his Friends in Town, from Aristippus in Retirement*. Byrom's verses were probably composed soon after the appearance of these Poems, when they and Brown's *Estimate* (1757; cf. l. 27) were still fresh in the public mind.]

"Dr. S—" to whom these verses are addressed, may possibly be Dr. Robert Smith, Bentley's successor in the Mastership of Trinity, and author of a work of repute on Optics, who died in 1768. Byrom, whose friendship with him was one of long standing, as early as 1728 mentions his taking an interest in the verses on the *Robbery in Epping Forest* (*Remains*, i. 296; cf. *ib.*, ii. 339). It can hardly have been Dr. Thomas Sharp, fellow of Trinity, who died in 1758 (the "Tom Sharp" that "set" Byrom "on shorthand;" *ib.*, i. 206); or the antiquarian Dr. Thomas Stukeley, though he was himself a writer of verse (*ib.*, ii. 11, note), who died in 1765.

The attempt of Byrom to break this particular poetic butterfly upon the wheel of an indignation half æsthetic, half patriotic (with a spoke of

quasi-moral censure suggested rather than actually inserted), might be supposed to have been made on subjective grounds; but of the existence of such I am in the present instance unaware. As a literary criticism, the following lines are in spirit rather narrow, and in particulars unfair.

John Gilbert Cooper (born 1723, died 1769) would not have disdained the imputation of being a *dilettante*, resembling in this respect his contemporary Horace Walpole. Indeed, with a harmless affectation of antagonism to the great change which, as described by the late Mr. John Forster (see his *Life of Goldsmith*), came over the practice or profession of literature in this age, he caused it to be known that he wrote for his own amusement and published (intentionally) for the profit of his "bookseller." Under a different aspect of his efforts as a writer, he has been stigmatised by Malone as "the last of the *benevolists*,"—a term which this infallible critic chose to apply to the sentimentalists who, according to him, "were much in vogue between 1750 and 1760, and dealt in general admiration of virtue. They were all tenderness in words; their finer feelings evaporated in the moment of expression; for they had no connexion with their practice." (See note to Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, ed. G. Birkbeck Hill, iii. 149.) Now, in the first place, so far as Cooper is concerned, the *malevolence* of Malone may very possibly rest on the basis of a single time-honoured anecdote. According to Johnson (*in loc. cit.*), "a gentleman was making an affected rant, as many people do, of great feelings about 'his dear son,' who was at school near London; how anxious he was lest he might be ill, and what he would give to see him. 'Can't you,' said Fitzherbert, 'take a post-chaise and go to him?' 'This to be sure,' said Johnson, '*finished* the affected gentleman;' but, he added with his usual sound sense,—his immediate purpose, moreover, being to reduce the reputation of Fitzherbert, the author of the repartee, to its proper level,—'there was not much in it.' And in truth there was all the less in it, if we remember that Cooper, the "affected gentleman" in question, had lost his eldest son on the day after that of his birth, and was therefore excusably over-nervous concerning his second boy. In Boswell's note the story is "improved." There, Fitzherbert is stated to have found Cooper "apparently, in such violent agitation, *on account of the indisposition of his son*, as to seem beyond the power of comfort. At length, however, he exclaimed, 'I'll write an Elegy;'" whereupon Fitzherbert offered his

judicious practical counter-suggestion. The proposal as to the "elegy" may be safely doubted, being in all probability nothing more than a malicious addition suggested by the rather florid epitaph, with its namby-pamby translation, dedicated by Cooper to the memory of his first-born son. (See Chalmers' *English Poets*, xv. 538.) But apart from this, if Cooper's boy at school was actually ill, his querulous passivity was something worse than absurd, and Fitzherbert's suggestion was patently appropriate.

Besides this story of dubious growth, I know of nothing to show that Cooper's sentimentalism was a mere fraud upon the public. This kind of charge, in itself easy enough to bring, has been freely brought against many a writer of the sentimental school,—or rather, since the emotional mannerism that marked it was not confined to literature, against many a man or woman whose lot it was to live in a sentimental age. As for Cooper, although his literary productivity coincides with the most flourishing period of the English sentimentalists (the first two volumes of *Tristram Shandy* appeared in 1759, *The Sentimental Journey* in 1768, and *The Man of Feeling* in 1771), there is little in his writings to mark him as a follower proper of this tendency. His verse has some of the lighter graces, but none of the eager glitter, the suppressed excitement, the pathos true or false, of the prose of Sterne and his imitators. And indeed, Cooper sought his models in a very different quarter, though to be sure it is not easy to state exhaustively where Sterne himself found his. "Aristippus" tells us, in passages to which Byrom makes sarcastic reference, that he specially affected Chapelle and his disciples Chaulieu and La Fare,—members of a school which had in it so much of the frivolous and so little of the sentimental that Voltaire is said to have been formed by it a lyric writer,—and above all Gresset, the author of a famous mock heroic poem containing about as much sentimentality as is to be found in *The Rape of the Lock*.

To acclimatise to the not very congenial atmosphere of English literature these fragile but not unpleasing growths, from which he had removed what to English taste would have been gross or offensive, was the harmless task which Cooper had set himself, and which he accomplished with some measure of success. His didactic poem of *The Power of Harmony* merely induces slumber, and posterity is stirred but faintly by his patriotic apostrophes to the Genius of Britain and to the Elder Pitt as it is by his Heroic Epistle from Theagenes to Sylvia. But it is

still, I think, possible to turn with pleasure to the lucubrations of Aristippus in retirement, and to the delightfully easy English rendering of Gresset's *Ver-Vert*. Byrom seems himself to have perceived that it would avail him little to go far in condemnation of the gentle and inoffensive version attempted in Cooper's four Epistles of the Cyrenaic philosophy. It is unnecessary to inquire here as to the relations between theory and practice in the case of the real Aristippus, the precursor of the Epicureans. His principle of making himself the master of circumstances instead of allowing them to master him (see Hor. *Epist.*, i. 1, 18-19), seems in practice to have resulted in his getting on without any principles at all. But, most assuredly, nobody will feel disposed to take his English namesake too seriously, or to criticise the spirit of his poetry under any other aspect than that of graceful and refined trifling with the problems of life. In any event, gracefulness and refinement must be reckoned among Cooper's distinctive characteristics. Johnson is said, on being told that Cooper had called him the Caliban of literature, to have retorted, in allusion to the other's rotundity of person : "Well, I must dub him the Pulchinello ;" and is further recorded to have replied to Warton's protestation that Cooper was at least very well-informed and a good scholar : "Yes, it cannot be denied that he has good materials for playing the fool, and he makes abundant use of them." (BOSWELL, *u.s.*, ii. 129, from Dr. MAXWELL'S *collectanea*, and MALONE'S note, *ib.*) But both sayings seem to me alike beyond the mark.

Feeling, perhaps, no inclination for meeting "Aristippus" on his own ground, and prevented by a fortunate instinct from treating him all too seriously, Byrom has chiefly addressed himself to the form of Cooper's poetry, on which side he was certainly vulnerable. His gracefulness and ease can hardly, as he fondly hoped they might, be called Horatian ; but he cannot be said in these respects to fall very far short of the inferior among Prior's pieces, although he has a sugary flavour of his own. His imagery is rather commonplace and hackneyed, but so is that of most other lyrists of the elegancies of life. Byrom is right in ridiculing his too frequent use of the suffix *y* as the riming syllable of his lines, which causes them to lilt along with, here and there, a rather fatal facility. But, on the whole, his versification is decidedly agreeable and his lines, which are not (as Byrom's quasi-travesty would lead one to suppose) arranged entirely in couplets, but consist of an irregular

intermixture of couplet and stanza (copied, I take it, from Gresset), have a pleasantly varied effect. Cooper's compound epithets, even those derisively cited by Byrom, I cannot myself profess to dislike; nor do I stumble at the occasional long words in his short lines, which again produce a welcome variety. One of these:—

“In unpremeditated rime”—

seems to have commended itself to Scott for imitation. No doubt, we have been taught that Scott's verse itself is jingle; but, in our hours of ease, it will serve.]

DOCTOR, this new poetic Species
Semel may do, but never *deicies*:
 For a *Chapelle*, or a *Chaulieu*,
 The new-devis'd Conceit may do;

3. For a *CHAPELLE*, &c. See *The Apology of Aristippus* (*Epistle iii.*):

“Chapelle leads up the festive band;
 La Farre and Chaulieu, hand in hand,
 Close follow their poetic sire,
 Hot with the Teian grape and fire.
 But hark! as sweet as western wind
 Breathes from the violet's fragrant beds,
 When balmy dews Aurora sheds,
 Gresset's clear pipe, distinct behind,
 Symphoniously combines in one
 Each former bard's mellifluent tone,—
 Gresset! in whose harmonious verse
 The Indian bird shall never die;
 Tho' death may perch on Ver-Vert's
 hearse,
 Fame's tongue immortal shall rehearse
 His variable loquacity.”

And cf. *The Call of Aristippus* (*Epistle iv.*):

“Meanwhile thy Aristippus' shade
 Shall seek where sweet Anacreon plays,
 Where Chapelle spends his festive days,
 Where lies the vine-empurpled glade
 By tuneful Chaulieu vocal made,

Or where our Shenstone's mossy cell,
 Or where the fair Deshoulières strays,
 Or Hammond and Pavillon dwell,
 And Gresset's gentle spirit roves,
 Surrounded by a group of Loves
 With roses crown'd and asphodel.”

Cf. Gresset, *La Chartreuse*:

“Autour de ces ombres aimables,
 Courounés de roses durables,
 Chapelle, Chaulieu, Pavillon,
 Et la naïve Deshoulières,
 Vienuent unir leurs voix légères,
 Et font badiner la raison.”

Chapelle, whose real name was Claude-Emmanuel Lhuillier, was born in 1626 and died in 1686. He took life extremely easy, made fun of more important literary personages than himself, and according to Voltaire was not even at the pains of writing good verse. His works were published in company with those of Bachaumont, with whom he composed the *Voyage en Provence et en Languedoc*.

Ib. Chaulieu and 5. La Farre. “At the end of the (seventeenth) century two

In rambling Rimes *La Farre* and *Gresset*,
And easy Diction, may express it ;

poets, whose names always occur together in literary history, the Abbé de Chaulieu (1639–1730) and the Marquis de la Fare (1644–1712) close the record. They were not only alike in their literary work, but were personal friends, and not the worst of Chaulieu's pieces is an elegy on La Fare, whom, though the older man of the two, he survived. They were both members of the libertine society of the Temple, over which the Duke de Vendôme presided, and which, somewhat later, formed Voltaire. The verses of both were strictly occasional. Chaulieu, like many men of letters of the time, published nothing during his long life, though his poems were known to French society in manuscript. Besides the verses on La Fare, Chaulieu's best poem is, perhaps, that *On a Country Life* (the author being an inhabitant of towns). La Fare, on the other hand, is best known by his stanzas to Chaulieu on *La Paresse*, which he was well qualified to sing, inasmuch as it is said that during many years of his long life he did nothing but sleep and eat. The verses of the two continued to be models of style, and in a way of choice of subject during the whole of the eighteenth century." G. Saintsbury's *Short History of French Literature* (1882), p. 286.

It may be added that Chaulieu, the literary descendant of Chapelle as in his lighter verse he was the literary progenitor of Voltaire, was a personage of considerable practical as well as poetical ability; and that La Fare was a writer of prose excellent of its kind as well as of easy-going—too easy-going verse. On all these writers Sainte-Beuve discourses in his *Causeries du lundi*.

Ib. Gresset. Jean-Baptiste Louis Gresset was born in 1709, and began his literary career at Paris in 1735. His posthumous reputation rests chiefly on his juvenile production *Ver-Vert*, the burlesque epos translated by Cooper, which narrates the lingual and moral vicissitudes of a parrot, the favourite of a nunnery. But his masterpiece, in which, moreover, there is a satirical vein of some real force, is, perhaps, *La Chartreuse*, which summarises his view of life, and may possibly have directly suggested to Cooper the conception of *Aristippus*. His *fautenul* in the Academy was obtained by his comedy *Le Méchant*, which has some merit, but of a more commonplace sort. He wrote one or two other plays, *Epistles*, &c. Not long, however, after his admission into the Academy, Gresset is said to have "changed his views," to have given up writing verse, and even to have burnt part of his objectionable publications. According to Gentil-Bernard, in his *Epistle* to Mme. de Pompadour, others of the same school took a similar course, at least so far as production was concerned :

"Plus de la Fare, encor moins de Chaulieu;

Piron s'endort, Gresset est tout en Dieu."

I suppose that a humorous delineation of the harmless foibles of nuns must be judged differently from a burlesque of the futile quarrels of ecclesiastics of the other sex (Boileau's *Lutrin*); but I am quite unable to follow Hettner in his solemn censure that the productions of Gresset and Company are interesting not under an artistic, but only under a pathological aspect. May we not now and then amuse ourselves artistically, and let the history of civilisation take care of itself?

Or Madam's Muse, *Deshoulières*,
 Improve it farther still than theirs ;
 But, in the Name of all the Nine,
 Will an epistolary Line
 In English Verse and English Sense
 Admit, to give them both Offence,
The Gaul-bred Insipiditee
 Of this new fangl'd Melodee ?
 Indeed, it won't.—If Gallic Phrase
 Can bear with such enervate Lays,
 Nor "Pleasure," nor "Pain-pinion'd Hours"
 Can ever suffer them in ours,
 Or, "Ivy-crown'd," endure a Theme
 "Silver'd with Moonshine's Maiden Gleam ;"
 Not tho' so "garlanded," and "flow'ry,"
 So "soft," so "sweet," so "Myrtle-bow'ry,"

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19 *Nor, ivy-crown'd.—B.*

7. *Madam's Muse, Deshoulières.* Antoinette du Ligier de la Garde, Madame Deshoulières (1637–1694)—“Amaryllis”—the authoress of *Idylles*, and a pensioner of Louis XIV.—was satirized by Boileau as the last of the *précieuses*. Thus she was (like most of the French poets celebrated by Cooper) out of sympathy with the later literary glories of the reign.

As to the terrific tempest created by her satirical sonnet on Racine's *Phèdre*, composed in the interests of the rival tragedy by her friend Pradon, see note to BOILEAU, *Épitre vii. v. 106*, in *Œuvres de Boileau* (1735), i. 383.

13-4. *The Gaul-bred Insipiditee*
Of this new-fangl'd Melodee?

Cf. *The Retreat of Aristippus* (*Epistle i.*):

“The well-bred insipidity
 Of town-assemblies ne'er is heard,
 &c.”

17. *Pleasure.* Cf. *The Apology of Aristippus* (*Epistle iii.*) :

“For in the pow'rs of poetry
 Wit, truth and pleasure blended lie.”
Ib. Pain-pinion'd Hours. I cannot put my finger on this phrase in Cooper; but he has, in the way of “compound epithets” (cf. l. 57, *infra*), “heart-bewitching;” “gently-trickling;” “oak-fring'd;” “heart-easing;” “nimble-footed;” “vine-empurled,” and divers others. See also the next note.

19. *Ivy-crown'd.* See *The Apology of Aristippus* (*Epistle iii.*) :

“Whilst ivy-crownèd Hours around
 The laughter-loving Graces lead, &c.”
 20. “*Silver'd with Moonshine's Maiden Gleam.*” See *The Retreat of Aristippus* (*Epistle i.*) :

“And when pale Cynthia's maiden gleam
 O'er night a silver mantle throws, &c.”

So "balmy," "palmy,"—and so on,—
 As is the Theme here writ upon ;
 Writ in a Species that, if taking,
 Portends sad future Verse-unmaking.
Brown's "Estimate of Times and Manners,"
 That paints Effeminacy's Banners,
 Has not a Proof in its Detail
 More plain than this, if this prevail.
 Forbid it sense, forbid it Rime,
 Whether familiar, or sublime ;
 Whether ye guide the Poet's Hand
 To easy Diction or to grand ;
 Forbid the Gallic Namby-Pamby
 Here to repeat its crazy Crambe !
 One Instance of such special Stuff,
 To see the Way on't, is enough,—
 Excus'd for once ; if *Aristippus*
 Has any more within his *Cippus*,
 Let him suppress, or sing 'em, He,
 With "gentle Muse, sweet Euterpee ;"

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27. BROWN'S "Estimate of Time and Manners." See Byrom's stanzas on this book, *ante*, pp. 436 *seqq.*, and the Introductory Note.

35. *Namby-Pamby*. The well-known perversion of the Christian name of Ambrose Phillips, who was burlesqued by Gay for having followed Spenser in adopting a rustic nomenclature in Pastorals hardly more unreal than most other efforts in the same line.

36. *To repeat its crazy Crambe*. The "crambe repetita" of Juvenal.

40. *Cippus*. Tombstone. I hope this does not allude to Cooper's epitaph on his eldest son. (See *Introductory Note*.)

42. "GENTLE MUSE, SWEET EUTERPE." Cooper's unwarrantable fondness for riming words ending in *y* (septennially, property, obscurity, and the like) deserved censure ; but he would never have descended to either of the barbarisms here insinuated. Cf. *The Apology of Aristippus* (*Epistle iii.*) :

"The most, tho' softest of the Nine,
 Euterpe, muse of gaiety,
 Queen of heart-soft'ning melody,
 Allures my ear with notes Divine ;
 In my retreat Euterpe plays
 Where Science, garlanded with flow'rs,
 Enraptur'd listens to her lays,
 Beneath the shade of myrtle bow'rs."

Free to salute her, while they chirp,
 For easier Riming "sweet Euterp."
 It is allow'd, that Verse, to please,
 Should move along with perfect Ease ;
 But this coxcombically mingling
 Of Rimes unriming, interjingling,
 For Numbers genuinely British,
 Is quite too finical and skittish,
 But for the masculiner *Belles*,
 And the polite He *Me'moiselles* ;
 Whom "Dryads," "Naiads," "Nymphs," and "Fauns,"
 "Meads," "Woods," and "Groves," and "Lakes," and "Lawns,"
 And "Loves," and "Doves,"—and fifty more
 Such jaded Terms, besprinkl'd o'er
 With compound Epithets uncouth,
 Prompt to pronounce 'em Verse, forsooth !
 Verse let 'em be ; tho', I suppose,
 Some Verse as well might have been Prose,
 That "England's common Courtesy
 Politely calls good Poetry."
 For, if the Poetry be good,

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52 The polite Me'moiselles.—B (!)

48. *Rimes unriming, interjingling.*—
 "Hearse" and "rehearse;" "deity" and "liberty;" and possibly one or two other (*Anglicæ*) false rimes may occur in the *Epistles of Aristippus*, and lay their author open to censure. But the epithet "interjingling" can only apply to the variations in the incidence of the rime freely allowed in Cooper's pieces,—an innovation (if it was such) quite in harmony with the spirit of this kind of lyrical composition.

53. "Dryads," "Naiads," &c. Cooper, it must be allowed, makes rather free with

this kind of gentry—but *que voulez-vous?*
 In any case, the "jaded terms" which follow will probably be kept in stock while lyrical poetry continues to be written.

57. *Compound Epithets.* See note to l. 17, ante.

61-2. *That "England's common Courtesy Politely calls good Poetry."*

Cf. *The Retreat of Aristippus* (*Epistle i.*):
 "Th' high vulgar of the town,
 Which England's common courtesy,
 To make good fellowship go down,
 Politely calls good company."

Accent at least is understood :

Number of Syllables alone,
Without the proper Stress of Tone,
Will make our Metre flat and bare,
As Hebrew Verse of Bishop Hare.
Add, that Regard to Rime is gone,
And Verse and Prose will be all one ;
Or, what is worse, create a Pother,
By Species neither one nor t'other ;
A Case, which there is Room to fear
From Dupes of *Aristippus* here.
The fancied Sage, in feign'd Retreat,
Laughs at the Follies of the Great,
With Wit, Invention, Fancy, Humour
Enough to gain the Thing a Rumour.
But if he writes, resolv'd to shine
In unconfin'd and motley Line,
Let him pindaric it away,
And quit the lazy labour'd Lay ;
Leave to *La Farre*, and to *La France*,
The warbling, soothing *Nonchalance* !—

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64. *Accent at least is understood.* Nor can I perceive that it is neglected by Aristippus, unless it be that his short metre inevitably tends to sing-song.

68. *As HEBREW Verse of Bishop HARE.* As to Dr. Francis Hare, successively Bishop of St Asaph and Chichester (died 1740), see Abbott, *The English Church and its Bishops*, &c., ii. 61-2: "His claims of having discovered the principles of Jewish poetry were confuted before long by a better Hebraist, Bishop Lowth." After greeting Bentley's exposure of Collins with an "extravagantly laudatory pamphlet," he subsequently "found out that Bentley's merits were alloyed with serious defects; but they had then quarrelled over their

rival editions of Terence, or, as Newton puts it, the two Divines were fighting over a play-book." (LESLIE STEPHEN, *u.s.*, i. 205.) Hare's change of attitude towards Bentley was not likely to commend him to the favour of Byrom.

69. *Add, that Regard to Rime is gone.* See *Thoughts on Rime and Blank Verse, infra.*

81. *Let him pindaric it away.* Let him try his hand at an Ode. Cowley had rendered the notion a familiar one that as to metre "Pindaric" and "irregular" were interchangeable terms. Hence Dryden could in *This Medal* apostrophise the Mob: "Thou leap'st o'er all eternal truths in thy Pindaric way."

When will our Bards unlearn, at last,
 The puny Stile, and the Bombast ;
 Nor let the pitiful Extremes
 Disgrace the Verse of English Themes ;
 Matter no more in Manner paint
 Foppish, affected, queer, and quaint ;
 Nor bounce above Parnassian Ground,
 To drop the Sense, and catch the Sound,—
 Except in writing for the Stage,
 Where Sound is best for buskin'd Rage ;
 Except in Operas, where Sense
 Is but superfluous Expense ?
 Be then the Bards of sounding Pitch
 Consign'd to *Garrick* and to *Rich* ;
 To *Tweedledums* and *Tweedledees*
 The singy-songing “*Euterpees !*”

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89. *Matter.* A real, substantial or dignified subject. So :

“ Fitting Kings,
 Containing matter, and not common
 things.”

95. *Except in Operas.* Byrom, for whose sentiments on the subject cf. Introductory Note to the *Epilogue of Hurlothrumbo*, seems impartially to include under this head Italian opera, English opera,

and pantomime. It was the last-named species on which Garrick at Drury Lane and Rich at Covent Garden “fell back”—Rich (as became a harlequin born) without scruple, Garrick more as a matter of necessity.

99. *Tweedledums and Tweedledees.* Fiddlers et hoc genus omne. See the *Epigram on the Feuds between Handel and Bononcini, ante*, p. 37.

REMARKS UPON DR. AKENSHIDE'S AND MR. WHITE-
HEAD'S VERSES, WHICH WERE PUBLISHED
AND ADDRESSED TO THE PEOPLE OF
ENGLAND, IN THE YEAR 1758.

[These lines, while possessing considerable point as a literary criticism, can hardly be interpreted as even a mild protest against the Jingoism of the two Odes against which they were directed, and both of which were published in the year 1758. The patriotic fury which seems to have disagreeably affected the tranquil soul of Byrom, whose Jacobitism perhaps even at this date rendered him rather cynical about national glory gained under the reigning dynasty, applied its lash to a willing horse ; and he could hardly desire to blame two poets of the day for suiting their tone to popular sentiment. In 1756 and 1757 there had been much public depression ; Byng's failure and subsequent execution, and the disgraceful break-down of the Duke of Cumberland, had greatly lowered the self-confidence of the nation. But in 1758 things went differently, and both the great political parties were, in the words of Lord Stanhope, "rapidly blending into an emulous support of Pitt;" in the early part of the year Horace Walpole described their unanimity as "prodigious ;" nor was the state of things different when towards its close Parliament met for a winter session, to vote a war expenditure of unprecedented extravagance. Prince Ferdinand's victory at Crefeld seemed to put the seal upon his recovery of the electorate of Hanover ; and—until the reverse of Hochkirch, of which the slowness of the Austrians prevented them from taking due advantage—victory upon victory—Rossbach, Leuthen, Zorndorf,—crowned the arms of our Prussian ally.

Of the two poems criticised by Byrom, Akenside's *Ode to the Country Gentlemen of England* claims to be mentioned first. It was, like all this writer's minor pieces, later in date of publication than the work on which his literary fame may be said to rest (*The Pleasures of Imagination*, which first appeared in 1744). And like most of these pieces, if the *Epistle to Curio*, afterwards converted into an Ode, be excepted, it falls under the category mentioned by Johnson in his brief life of Akenside (in *Lives of*

the Poets), of works that need not be criticised, since they will not be read. Yet this particular Ode, with its appeal to Englishmen not to trust either to the wealth of their native land or to the "azure tide" (more recently known as "the silver streak of sea") surrounding it, seems not to have been ineffective in its day, and might possibly, with alterations up to date, do duty again. We have the statement of Mr. Justice Hardinge, cited in Dyce's *Life of Akenside* prefixed to the Aldine edition of his poems: "Mr. Elliott, father of Lord Minto, made an admirable speech in support of the Scotch Militia, which I had the good fortune to hear when I was a boy; and it was reported that, when commended as he was on every side for that performance, 'If I was above myself,' he answered, 'I can account for it; for I had been animated by the sublime Ode of Dr. Akenside.'" The Ode was announced in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in the list of books for March, 1758, and may therefore be supposed to have been published while Parliament was sitting in the spring of that year.

Such as it is, Akenside's Ode has the sonorous roll of the sea-wave, hollow in its womb, and monotonous in its motion, but wanting neither in largeness nor in grandeur. William Whitehead's *Verses to the People of England*, published in the same year, are, like almost everything else remaining from his hand, no longer to be read except on compulsion. They are, no doubt, less ambitious in form than those Odes which, accepting a responsibility declined by Gray, Whitehead produced to order as poet laureate; but they cannot be said to refute the aspersion that

"DULNESS and METHOD still are one,
And WHITEHEAD is their darling Son."

But Byrom's pleasantries and Churchill's ribaldries alike glanced harmless off the *egis* which protected Whitehead. He was after all, as Lord Frederick Verisopht said of Shakspere, a very clever man; as a poet, though Goldsmith pooh-poohed his authority on plays, he accommodated his muse very creditably to an unusual variety of metres; and as a patriot, living as he did in the famous times when Mr. Pitt did everything and the Duke of Newcastle *gave* everything, why should the author of *The Roman Father* have taken a line of his own?

Byrom, so far as I know, had no personal acquaintance with either Akenside or William Whitehead; nor is there any reference to either of

them, or to the politics of this particular period, in his *Remains*. His Library contains a copy of Akenside's *Ode to the Earl of Huntingdon* (1748), which Dyce considers "perhaps, the most perfect of his efforts in lyric poetry."]

I.

"*WHITHER is EUROPE'S ancient Spirit fled?*"

How came this Query in the Doctor's Head?
"Whither is BRITAIN'S?"——one had sooner guess'd,
In Ode to his own Countrymen address'd;

I. The following are the first two stanzas of the *Ode to the Country Gentlemen of England*, by Dr. Akenside; with its motto. This and the opening quatrain of the first stanza are cited in a note in A.

"*Rusticorum mascula militum
Proles, SABELLIS docta ligionibus
Versare glebas.*"

—Hor. [Od., III. vi. 37-9.] I.

Whither is Europe's ancient spirit fled?
Where are those valiant tenants of her shore,
Who from the warrior-bow the strong dart sped,
Or with firm hand the rapid pole-axe bore?
Freeman and Soldier was their common name;
Who late with reapers to the furrow came,
Now in the front of battle charged the foe;
Who taught the steer the wintry plough to endure,
Now in full councils checked encroaching power,
And gave the guardian laws their majesty to know.

II. But who are ye? from Ebro's loitering sons To Tiber's pageants, to the sports of Seine; From Rhine's frail palaces to Danube's thrones,

And cities looking on the Cimbric main; Ye lost, ye self-deserted? whose proud lords

Have baffled your tame hands, and given your swords
To slavish ruffians, hired for their command: These, at some greedy monk's or harlot's nod,
See rifled nations crouch beneath their rod: These are the Public Will, the Reason of the land.

III.
Thou, heedless Albion, what, alas, the while

Dost thou presume?

2. *The Doctor's.* Akenside took his degree of M.D. at Leyden before the publication of his *Pleasures of Imagination* (though not before that of his juvenile poem on the insults of the Spaniards), and practised for many years as a physician in London, in which capacity his success was more gradual than in his literary career.

But, as outlandish Rivers soon infer it,
(Six, in three Lines) it must be EUROPE'S Spirit.

II.

Of "valiant Tenants of her Shore," 'tis said,
"Who from the warrior Bow the strong Dart sped;"—
Let Bow be "Warrior," and let Dart be "strong,"
Verse does not "speed" so speedily along ; 10
"The strong Dart sped"—does but go thump, thump, thump,
That quick as thrown should pierce the Liver plump.

III.

"And with firm Hand the rapid Poleaxe bore."—
If it had been "the rapid Dart" before,
And "the strong Poleaxe, here, it had agreed
With a firm Hold as well, and darting speed.
Whither are fled from Ode-Versification
The ancient "Pleasures of Imagination?"

IV.

Really these fighting Poets want a Tutor
To teach them "Ultra crepidam ne Sutor;" 20

5-6 But it must certainly be Europe's spirit,
As six outlandish rivers soon infer it.—B.

16. *The strong Dart sped.* The objection of course is both to the monosyllabic sequence (cf. Pope's *Essay on Criticism*) and to the accumulation of consonants.

18. *The ancient "PLEASURES OF IMAGINATION."* Alluding to a celebrated Poem, written by Dr. Akenside, entitled, the Pleasures of the Imagination.—BYR.

Akenside's poem was first published in January, 1744; in 1757 he began re-

modelling it, without effecting much by the re-arrangement, which he did not live to complete. He would have better served his fame had he left the poem as it stood, merely pruning its language, which is frequently too much for its metre.

20. "*Ultra crepidam ne Sutor.*" The well-known Latin proverb, which is cited in substantially the same form by Pliny.

To teach the *Doctor*, and to teach the *Laureate*,
“EX HELICONE sanguinem ne hauriat;”
Tho’ Blood and Wounds infect its limpid Stream,
It should run clear before they sing a Theme.

V.

Ye “BRITONS rouse to Deeds of Death!”—says one ;
“Whither,” the next, “is Europe’s Spirit gone?”
While real Warriors think it all a Farce
For them to bounce of either *Mors* or *Mars* ;
Safe as one sacks it under bloodless Bay,
And sure as t’other even *Death* must pay.

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VI.

But you shall hear what *Captain ****** said,
When he had heard both Ode and Verses read :
On Mottos “*Versibus exacuit*”
And “*Proles militum*” he mus’d a bit ;
Then, having cast his hunting Wits about,
In quest of Rimes, he thus, at last, broke out :

21. *The Laureate.* Colley Cibber died in December, 1757 ; and as Byrom’s verses were written in the early part of 1758, Whitehead’s official laurels, transmitted from the brow of Colley Cibber, were still indifferently green.

22. *Ex HELICONE sanguinem ne hauriat.* This line, which suggests the Horatian *plena cruxis hirudo*, applies better as a simile to the physician distinguished for his ferocity as a political partisan, than to the laureate and “reader,” whose paramount anxiety seems to have been to “draw” his salary.

25. *Ye “BRITONS ROUSE TO DEEDS OF*

DEATH !” says one. This is the first of the *Verses to the People of England* (1758) by William Whitehead, poet laureate, from which the editor of B (the edition of 1814) cites “long and beautiful extracts not inapplicable to the present crisis.” I think it unnecessary to follow his example.

33. *On Mottos*—“*VERSIBUS EXACUIT*” and “*PROLES MILITUM*.” Akenside’s stanzas bore the motto from Horace, cited above, *ad.*, l. 1 ; Whitehead’s lines the following, from Hor. *De Arte Poetica*, 402-3 : “*Mares* (delightfully misprinted *mures* in Chalmers’ *Poets*) *animos in martia bella Versibus exacuit.*”

VII.

"Poh! Let my *Serjeant*, when his Dose is taken,
 "BRITONS STRIKE HOME!" with moisten'd Pipe rehearse:
 To "Deeds of Death" 'twill sooner much awaken,
 Than a Cart-Load full of such Ode and Verse. 40
 "If these two Bards will by a *tuneful* Labour
 Show, without *sham*, their Love to *killing* Life,
 Let AKENSIDE go *thump* upon the Tabor,
 And WHITEHEAD grasp th' *exvacuating* Fife!"

40 Than cart loads full of such poor Ode.—B.

38. BRITONS STRIKE HOME! This song I presume originally formed part of the nautical, musical, and patriotic piece written by Edward Phillips and produced at Drury Lane on December 31st, 1739, as a contribution to the popular excitement against Spain. The piece was revived in 1779, when Spain had joined the Americans. (Cf. *Genest*, iii. 605-6.)

ON THE PATRON OF ENGLAND;

IN A LETTER TO LORD WILLOUGHBY, PRESIDENT OF THE
ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

[Lord Willoughby of Parham, who as a staunch Presbyterian is said to have been much shocked by the attempt of a Fellow of the Society over which he presided to prove a Pope the patron saint of England, was not appointed President of the Antiquarian Society till 1754. (For further biographical data concerning Hugh, 15th Lord Willoughby of Parham, see *Remains*, ii. 422, note, and Collins' *Peerage*, 5th edition, vi. 421-2, where his other activities are enumerated, and where he is described as "an ingenious and learned nobleman"). On May 27th, 1758, Dr. Samuel Pegge (as to whom see below) wrote to Byrom: "As soon as I am at leisure, I will . . . take your last verses about Pope Gregory into consideration." (*Remains*, ii. 606.) The stanzas which follow must therefore have been written between the spring of 1754 and that of 1758. More than a quarter of a century earlier, apparently on the occasion of an election of Westminster Scholars, Byrom appears to have furnished one of the boys, to whom had been set the theme of "*Ne sit pro teste vetustas*," with a copy of his "verses about St. George and the Dragon" (see *Remains*, i. 124); but this "epigram" (*ib.*, 135), the composition of which suggests that Byrom's scepticism on the subject of the story of St. George was of old date, is unluckily lost. The present stanzas do not appear to have been published before the issue of A, in 1773; since Dr. Pegge, in the refutation of Byrom's arguments noticed below, cites his *Miscellaneous Poems* for the verses.

The stanzas *On the Patron of England* were, apart from the risk of offending the good President of the worthy Society of Antiquaries, audacious enough. For April 23rd, St. George's Day, was the day which the Society had appointed by statute for the election of its officers, in recognition of the King's being its founder and patron, as well as the Sovereign of the Order of the Garter, which had been instituted in honour

of Almighty God, the Blessed Virgin, and the Blessed Martyr St. George. St. George, however, probably just because he was the national saint, had before this been treated with a familiarity the reverse of respectful. I may refer, by way of illustration, to Thomas Heywood's *England's Elizabeth* (1631), where it is related of King Edward IV. that "hee was facetious and witty, as may appeare in the fourth yeare of his reign, and thirteenth of his age, being at Greenewich on S. Georges day, comming from the Sermon with all the Nobility in State correspondent for the day, said, My Lords, I pray you what Saint is S. George, that wee so much honour him heere this day? The Lord Treasurer made answere, If it please your Maiesty, I did neuer in any History read of S. George, but onely in Legenda Aurea, where it is thus set downe, that S. George out with his sword and ran the Dragon through with his speare. The King hauing something vented himselfe with laughing, replied, I pray you my Lord, and what did hee with his sword the while? That I cannot tell your Maiesty, said hee." On which Thomas Heywood, as became a man of his learning and a fellow of his College, notes in the margin: "He that shall but peruse the History of S. George now written by Heylin" [it was published in the same year as *English Elizabeth*] "may soone goe beyond the L. Treasurer's answer to the King." Percy's *Reliques* contains two burlesque ballads professing to be the *First* and *Second Part* of "*St. George for England*"; the former being reprinted from a black-letter copy in the Pepys collection bearing date 1612, and the other being written by the facetious Mr. John Grubb of Christ Church, some time in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Byrom may have seen the earlier (or, for that matter, both) of these efforts, which concludes thus:

"St. David of Wales the Welshmen much advance ;
 St. Jaques of Spain, that never yet broke lance ;
 St. Patricke of Ireland, which was St. George's boy,
 Seven years he kept his horse, and then stole him away ;
 For which Knavish act, as slaves they doe remaine :
 But St. George, St. George the dragon he hath slaine.
 St. George he was for England ; St. Dennis was for France ;
 Sing, *Honi soit qui mal y pense !*"

If, as Byrom's editor, I should be held guilty of undue levity in thus

introducing his contribution to the controversy concerning the personality of St. George, which in its time has employed many learned wits, I must confess that this contribution itself is in my judgment hardly worthy of its author. Dr. Samuel Pegge, to whose *Observations on the History of St. George, &c.*, read before the Society of Antiquaries on April 10th, 1777, and printed in *Archæologia*, vol. v. (1779), pp. 1-32, much of what follows is due, concludes his examination of Byrom's paradox by observing: "I think it not unlikely that many people will be inclined to call Mr. Byrom's conjecture very *acute and ingenious*; but I confess I cannot dignify it with those flattering epithets, when I find it to be so chimerical, so destitute of all rational support; and yet it was intended to overturn a fact more firmly established, perhaps, than most other historical passages are."

The maresnest (for it deserves no better name) discovered by Byrom, that St. Gregory, and not St. George, was the Patron Saint of England, is of course to be distinguished from the doubts which have been from time to time thrown upon the supposed historical St. George, and which to this day, in Milman's words (*History of Latin Christianity*, 4th edⁿ, ix. 81, note), make it "much more easy to say who St. George was not than who he was." In Part I., c. 5, §§ 40-44 of Selden's *Titles of Honour* (1614, republished with large additions in 1631), the whole question, on which Heylyn and others were accumulating so great a mass of learning, was treated alike with fulness and with candour. Reviewing both the testimony of the Eastern and that of the Western church, and of that church in England in particular, Selden comes to the conclusion that the accepted account is not to be rejected. (According to this, St. George suffered martyrdom under Diocletian;—some say that the date was 290 A.D., and that the place was Rama or Ramel in Palestine.) As to the tradition of his martyrdom, Selden allows that "of the time wherein he is supposed to have suffered we have no historian of the church but *Eusebius*, who mentions not the name of one martyr in divers hundreds that he tells us of in general. But," he adds, "the many and ancient dedications of churches to him, old relations of his miracles and apparitions, the peculiar liturgies and festivals in both churches belonging to him, and divers other particulars before mentioned or designed of him, his being a martyr having been never, before this age, questioned, may supply the full weight of the best ecclesiastical story that could have been left of

him. And," he continues, "for the arguments brought against him out of the name of that *Arian of Alexandria*, as if fancy had turned that heretic into this martyr, and so created him with a fiction of mistaking : there is no other warrant for any such supposition but mere fancy" (*u.s.*, § 43). Selden, in what follows, seems sufficiently to demonstrate its wildness. But such paradoxes die hard ; and in or about 1760 a member of the Society of Antiquaries, Dr. Pettingal, revived the old doubts concerning the national saint, and questioned the existence of such a person, unless he was to be identified with the Arian successor of Athanasius at Alexandria, whose degrading and brutal tyranny finally caused him to be lynched by his flock. As is well known, Gibbon, in his *Decline and Fall*, reproduced this conclusion with unconcealed satisfaction ; and it was no doubt the currency thus given afresh to an obsolete conjecture which led to the publication (in 1792) of another *Historical and Critical Enquiry* on the subject by J. Milner (afterwards a bishop of the Church of Rome) in the shape of a Letter addressed to Lord Leicester. In the opinion of Milman (see his note to the *Decline and Fall*, edition of 1855, iii. 173), Milner succeeded "in tracing the worship of St. George up to a period which makes it improbable that so notorious an Arian could be palmed upon the Catholic Church as a saint and martyr. The Acts rejected by Gelasius may have been of Arian origin, and designed to engrave the story of their hero on the obscure adventures of some earlier saint."

There is no necessity here to go back further upon this part of the question, nor to enquire into the supposed difficulty of accounting for the relatively late growth of St. George's popularity as a military saint, and for the process whereby his special English popularity, dating as such probably from the time of the Third Crusade, established him as our national saint ; nor, finally, to criticise the story of St. George and the Dragon, to which the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus a Voragine secured individual longevity. That it was accepted in a literal sense in the days of Edward III. and of the foundation of the Order of the Garter (the *confrarie de St. George ou des chevaliers de la bleue jartier*, as Froissart called the Knights in 1344), there can be no reasonable doubt ; St. George appears in much the same way on the coins and in the arms of Russia, of which he is likewise the Patron Saint.

But Byrom's peculiar heresy (for nobody else appears ever to have

shared it) and Pegge's counter-arguments require, in conclusion, to be briefly noticed. In point of fact, however, the evidence for the theory that St. George is a misnomer for St. Gregory, and that the great Pope, not the more or less obscure Cappadocian Knight, was the Saint adopted by the English as their patron, hardly bears examination. The "external" evidence, which was no doubt likewise the *fons et origo* of Byrom's unhappy conjecture, consists entirely in other examples of the substitution of "*Gregorius*" for "*Georgius*," which he supposed to have occurred in this instance. He triumphantly appeals to two cases mentioned by Selden. First, in a French chronicle cited by Froissart (but not, Byrom says, in Froissart himself), "*Grégoire*" is accidentally written for "*George*" as the name of the saint of the day kept as a feast by the Knights of the Garter at Windsor. Secondly, in a passage of the edition of Baronius at Rome describing the effigy of St. George and the Dragon, a similar mis-spelling occurs (apparently once). Thirdly, in Gratian's enumeration of the doubtful biographies of certain holy martyrs, *Gregorius* is in some editions substituted for *Georgius*. The contexts of the first and second of these passages (the third is wholly insignificant) not only mark them as obvious errata, but show beyond question that they can be nothing but pure accidents; nor can it be pretended that such slips of the pen (in which there is manifestly nothing uncommon) go any way towards establishing a *qui pro quo* of the most extraordinary kind. St. Gregory's day is March 12th; and the legend of St. George and the Dragon was related by Jacobus a Voragine something like three centuries before the days of Baronius.

Byrom's contention that Pope Gregory the Great, being the Apostle of the English, was naturally received by them as their Patron, though specious, is neither quite exact nor really to the point. As to the exactness of its terms, though Pope Gregory might be, in a secondary sense, and indeed occasionally is, styled the Apostle of the English (see, for instance, the opening of Ælfric's *Homily on St. Gregory*), this title is more correctly and more commonly (by Pope Gregory himself, to begin with) given to St. Augustine. It is true, to be sure, that in the Benediction of the King cited by Selden in an earlier passage of his *Titles of Honour* (Part i. chap. viii. § 3) from an imperfect Anglo-Saxon coronation ceremonial, "St. Gregory the Apostle of the English" is specially associated with St. Mary and St. Peter as interceding for the Divine Blessing upon

the King. (See note to l. 68 *infra*.) But the argument is, notwithstanding, idle. St. George is to be considered as a military Saint principally, and was indisputably so considered, at all events after his peculiar character had been established or continued by contact with the Eastern Church. Here he had long borne this character, which is expressed in a series of distinctive epithets (*Τροπαιοφόρος*, &c.). At Calais, in 1349, Edward III. called upon him, with Edward the Confessor, to give victory to the English arms; and his mediation is appropriately asked in any prayer that the Sovereign, the knights, or the soldiers of England may be “sent Victorious.”

The point in Byrom’s argument, I may add, in truth lies away from the immediate issue. Historically, his contention is what I have called it, a maresnest. But to his mind—and perhaps to other minds—it seemed that the Patron Saint of England *ought to be* a chief agent in its Christianisation. So Alexander I. of Scotland, who was a zealous promoter of religious life in his kingdom, was possibly named after Pope Alexander II.; and many a “Sandy” to this day, as Presbyterian in his sentiments as Lord Willoughby of Parham, unconsciously commemorates the national feeling of nine hundred years since, that such are the services which ought pre-eminently to survive in a people’s remembrance.]

I.

WILL you please to permit me, my very good Lord,
 Some Night when you meet upon ancient Record,
 Full worthily filling Antiquity’s Throne
 To propose to your Sages a Doubt of my own,—
 A certain moot Point of a national Kind?
 For it touches all ENGLAND to have it defin’d
 With a little more Fact, by what Kind of a Right
 Her Patron, her Saint, is a *Cappadox Knight*?

7 What sort of.—B.

8. *A Cappadox Knight.* “In some old rituals, or books of ordinary service of the Eastern Church (where they have also other Saints of the same Christian name, but all distinguished plainly enough from him), he is supposed, as in other testimonies, to have been a Cappadocian. It is also delivered in those rituals that he

II.

I know what our Songs and our Stories advance,
That ST. GEORGE is for ENGLAND, ST. DENYS for FRANCE; 10
But the French, tho' uncertain what DENYS it was.
All own he converted and taught 'em their Mass;
And most other Nations, I fancy, remount
To a Saint, whom they chose upon some such Account,
But I never could learn, that for any like Notion,
The English made Choice of a *Knight Cappadocian*.

III.

Their Conversion was owing (Event, one would hope,
Worth rememb'ring at least) to a Saint and a Pope,—

14 To some Saint whom they chose upon such an.—B.

17, 18 Conversion—a turn worth rememb'ring, I hope—
To Gregory was owing, a.—B.

was of a good family, and a very famous commander in the wars under *Dioclesian*, but that, when he suffered martyrdom, he was a count." SELDEN, *u.s.*, § 42, where see note.

9. *Our Songs.* See *Introductory Note*.

11. *Tho' uncertain, what DENYS it was.* "The Church of France," says Milman (*History of Latin Christianity*, 4th ed., iii. 334), "made it a point of honour to identify the St. Denys, the founder and patron saint of the church at Paris, with the Areopagite of St. Paul." According to other accounts he was martyred in the middle of the third century of our era. Gradually, as Paris rose above Tours and Rheims, St. Denys rose (over St. Martin and St. Remi) to be the leading Saint of France, though St. Louis was the Saint of the royal race (*ib.*, ix. 80).

13. *Most other Nations.* St. Jago of Compostella and Boniface are historical. "Some of the patron Saints, however, of the great Western Kingdoms are of a later period, and sprang probably out of romance, perhaps were first inscribed on the banners to distinguish the several nations during the Crusades. For the dignity of most of these Saints there is sufficient legendary reason; as of St. Denys in France, St. James in Spain, St. Andrew in Scotland (there was a legend of the Apostle's conversion of Scotland), St. Patrick in Ireland. England, however, instead of one of the old Roman or Saxon Saints, St. Alban, or St. Augustine, placed herself under the tutelar guardianship of a Saint of very doubtful origin, St. George." MILMAN, *u.s.*

To a *Gregory* known by the *First*, and the *Great*,
 Who sent, to relieve them from Pagan Deceit,
 St. *Austin* the Monk ; and both *Sender* and *Sent*
 Had their Days in old *Fasti* that noted th' Event.
 Now, my Lord, I would ask of the Learn'd and Laborious,
 If *Ge-orgius* ben't a Mistake for *Gregorius*. 20

IV.

In Names so like-letter'd it would be no Wonder
 If hasty Transcribers had made such a Blunder ;
 And Mistake in the Names, by a Slip of their Pen,
 May perhaps have occasion'd Mistake in the Men.
 That this has been made, to omit all the rest,
 Let a Champion of yours, your own *Selden*, attest : 30
 See his Book upon Titles of Honour, that Quarter
 Where he treats of St. GEORGE and the *Knights of the Garter*.

V.

There he quotes from *Froissart*, how at first, on the Plan
 Of a Lady's blue Garter, blue Order began,
 In one thousand three hundred and forty and four.
 But the Name of the Saint in *Froissart* is *Gregore* :
 So the Chronicle Writer or printed or wrote
 For *George*, without Doubt, says the marginal Note.
 Be it there a mistake ! — But, my Lord, I'm afraid
 That the same, *vice-versâ*, was anciently made. 40

VI.

For tho' much has been said by the great Antiquarian
 Of an Orthodox *George*, *Cappadocian* and *Arian* :

19 Who was known by the title of first.—B. 20 He sent.—B.
 22 *Fasti* which mark'd th' event.—B. (?) 24 Has not Geor-gi-us been.—B.
 31 See on titles of honour his book in that.—B.

30. Your own SELDEN. See Introductory Note.

"How the Soldiers first came to be Patron of old,
I have not," says he, "Light enough to behold."
A Soldier-like Nation, he guesses (for want
Of a Proof that it did so) would choose him for Saint ;
For in all his old Writings no Fragment occurr'd
That saluted him Patron, 'till EDWARD the Third.

VII.

His Reign he had guess'd to have been the first Time,
But for old Saxon Prose and for old English Rime,
Which mention a *George*, a great Martyr and Saint, 50
Tho' they say not a Word of the Thing that we want.
They tell of his Tortures, his Death, and his Pray'r,
Without the least Hint of the question'd Affair :
That Light, I should guess, with Submission to *Selden*,
As he was not the Patron, he was not beheld in.

45, 46 He thinks, since of proofs he is sorely in want.
A soldier-like nation would.—B.

49 That reign he had guess'd to be.—B. (?) 56 Not being the Patron.—B. (?)

52. *Tho' they say not a Word of the Thing that we want*, viz, that he was the Patron-Saint of the Nation. This is, strictly speaking, correct. The only testimony in this direction cited by *Selden* is that of an author of a *MS.* written under Henry VIII., who mentions that Richard I. in the Holy Wars, animated by St. George, thought of instituting such a Military Order as that afterwards founded by Edward III.; but *Selden* confesses that he has not yet learned what ancient testimony the author in question had to support his assertion. The point, however, as *Pegge* putsit, remains, that, since there is evidence that St. George was known long before Edward III. as an eminent Saint and Martyr, and as the Patron of Soldiers, it is unreasonable to require proof that he was

received as *tutelary general* either by the Saxons or by the Normans at the Conquest : inasmuch as he might easily have become such after our people had visited the Holy Land.

53. *They tell of his Tortures, his Death.* SELDEN, u.s., § 42, after citing from an ancient *MS.* quoted by *Baronius* and regarded by him as the reverse of authentic, a most elaborate account of the tortures undergone by St. George before his death, adds: "But among all the lives that they have in the *Vatican*, *Baronius* thinks that one to be nearest the truth which was wont to be read in some churches, and hath in it the year of the martyrdom" [290], "and only beating, the wheel, the frying-pan, and the beheading, for his sufferings."

Ib. And his Pray'r. Cf. SELDEN, § 42,

VIII.

The Name in French, Latin, and Saxon, 'tis hinted,
 Some three or four Times, is mis-writ or mis-printed ;
 He renders it *George* ;—but, allowing the Hint,
 And the Justice of Change both in Writing and Print,
 Some *George* by like Error (it adds to the Doubt) 60
 Has turn'd our Converter ST. GREGORY out.
 He, or Austin the Monk, bid the fairest by far
 To be Patron of *England*, till Garter and Star.

60

IX.

In the old Saxon Custom of crowning our Kings,
 As *Selden* has told us, amongst other Things
 They nam'd in the Pray'rs which his Pages transplant,
 The VIRGIN, ST. PETER, and one other Saint,
 Whose Connection with England is also exprest,
 And yields in this Case such a probable Test,
 That, a Patron suppos'd, we may fairly agree 70
 Such a Saint is the Person, whoever it be.

70

61 Error, which.—B.

63 Beds.—B.

from an English *MS.* Martyrology in Corpus Christi College Library at Cambridge : “And St. George (at his death) prayed to the Lord, and said : ‘Jesus Christ, receive my soul ; and I beseech Thee that whosoever shall keep my commemoration on earth, all falsehood, hurt, hunger, and sickness be far from his house ; and that whosoever shall in any danger, either by sea or elsewhere, use my name, Thou wilt be merciful unto him.’ Then came a Voice from Heaven, saying : ‘Come, thou blessed ; and whosoever shall in any danger or place call on My Name through thee,

him will I hear.’” For the Anglo-Saxon see Cockayne’s *Shrine*, p. 73.

64. *Till Garter and Star.* Till the institution of the Order of the Garter. See *Introductory Note*.

68. *The Virgin, St. Peter and one other, Saint.* SELDEN, u.s., I. viii. 3 ; cf. *Introductory Note*) : “*Benedictio ad regem. Extendat omnipotens Deus dextram Suæ benedictionis, et effundat super te donum Suæ protectionis, sancta MARIAE, ac beati PETRI apostolorum principio, sanctique GREGORII Anglorum apostolici, atque omnium sanctorum intercedentibus meritis. Amen.*”

X.

Now, with MARY and PETER, when Monarchs are crown'd,
There is only a SANCTUS GREGORIUS found ;
And his Title ANGLORUM APOSTOLUS too,
With which a ST. GEORGE can have nothing to do.
While *Scotland* and *Ireland* and *France* and *Spain* claims
A ST. ANDREW, ST. PATRICK, ST. DENYS, ST. JAMES,
Both Apostle and Patron — for Saint so unknown
Why should *England* reject an Apostle her own ?

80

XI.

This, my Lord, is the Matter. The plain simple Rimes
Lay no Fault, you perceive, upon Protestant Times.
I impute the Mistake, if it should be one, solely
To the Pontiffs succeeding, who christen'd Wars holy,—
To Monarchs, who madding around their round Tables,
Preferr'd to Conversion their Fighting and Fables.
When Soldiers were many, good Christians but few,
ST. GEORGE was advanc'd to ST. GREGORY'S Due.

77 Scotland, France, Ireland, and Spain put in.—B.

78 To St. Andrew, St. Denys, St. Patrick.—B.

79, 80 An Apostle, her own,
Why should England reject for a Saint so unknown.—B.

85 Madd'ning.—B.

85. *Monarchs, who madding around their round Tables.* The allusion is, I suppose, to Edward III. but it would better fit Edward IV., under whom the *Morte Arthur* was written by Sir Thomas Malory, and at whose court his stories were so popular. Undoubtedly, as Roger Ascham and others recognised, the Arthurian legend in its artificial elaborations inspired many mis-taken and perverse, as well as many lofty and generous, notions associated with mediæval conceptions of chivalry. Byrom's accusation is, however, awkwardly put, since "conversion," though at the point of the sword, is an organic element in these ideas.

XII.

One may be mistaken, and therefore would beg
 That a *Willis*, a *Stukeley*, an *Ames*, or a *Pegge*,— 90
 In short, that your Lordship and all the fam'd Set
 Who are under your Auspices happily met,
 In perfect good Humour—which you can inspire,
 As I know by Experience—would please to enquire,
 To search this one Question, and settle, I hope :
 “WAS OLD ENGLAND'S OLD PATRON A KNIGHT, OR A POPE?”

89 Mistaken, I.—B.

90. *A WILLIS.* Browne Willis, F.S.A., the antiquary, and author of a *Survey of the Cathedrals of England, Notitia Parliamentaria, &c.*; born 1682, died 1760. (See WRIGHT's note to *Horace Walpole's Letters*, ed. Cunningham, v. 392.)

Ib. A STUKELEY. Of Dr. William Stukely, F.R.S. and F.S.A., born 1687, and died 1765, author of *Palaeogrammaticon Sacra*, see a notice in *Remains*, ii. II, note. He is once or twice respectfully

mentioned by Horace Walpole.

Ib. An AMES. Joseph Ames, Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, born 1689, died 1759. (See the memoir of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. i.)

Ib. A PEGGE. Of Dr. Samuel Pegge, F.S.A., Byrom's friend, correspondent, and censor, born 1704, died 1796, a copious contributor to the *Archæologia*, see a notice in *Remains*, ii. 602, note.

AN EPISTLE TO J. BL—K—N, ESQ.,

OCCASIONED BY A DISPUTE CONCERNING THE FOOD OF ST. JOHN
THE BAPTIST.

[Dr. Samuel Pegge's letter to Byrom, dated May 27th, 1758, concerning the Homeric passage discussed by the latter in verse (cf. *infra*), concludes as follows: "As soon as I am at leisure I will examine that passage in St. Matthew about the *Ἀκρίδες*, and likewise take your last verses about Pope Gregory into consideration." This shows that all three pieces were submitted by Byrom to Pegge much about the same time; and I have accordingly thought myself warranted in arranging their sequence as might best suit the relation of subjects.

The gentleman to whom the present *Epistle* was addressed must have been Mr. John Ireland Blackburn, or Blackburne, M.P., of Orford Hall in Lancashire, who married Byrom's relative Catharine, daughter and co-heiress of Mr. William Assheton, Rector of Prestwich (cf. *Remains*, i. 635; ii. 389, notes). One of his sons was afterwards Warden of the Collegiate Church.

There is really very little to observe concerning the contention urged by Byrom in these verses. The rendering by the English word "locusts" of *ἀκρίδες*, the word used by St. Matthew (iii. 5), presents no difficulty, and is supported by ample authority. On the other hand, the translation either of "*ἀκρίδες*" or (so far as Faccioli helps me out) of "*locustæ*" by "tops of a plant" has nothing in its favour beyond the unsupported assertion of St. Isidore, which no doubt suggested Byrom's flight. *Quid plura?*]

I.

THE Point, *Mr. Bl—k—n*, disputed upon,—
"Whether Insects, or Herbs, were the Food of St John,"—
Is a singular Proof how a learnèd Pretence
Can prevail with some Folks over natural Sense,—

So consistent with Herbs, as you know was allow'd.
 But the Dust that is rais'd by a critical crowd
 Has so blinded their Eyes, that plain, simple Truth
 Is obscur'd by a *Posse* of *Classics*, forsooth !

II.

Diodorus and *Strabo*, *Solinus* and *Ælian*,
 And Authorities down from the *Aristotelian*, 10
 Have mention'd whole Clans that were wont to subsist,
 In the East, upon Locusts as big as your Fist.
"Ergo, so did the Baptist."—Now, were it all true
 That Reporters affirm (but not one of them knew),—
 What follows but Hear-say how Savages eat,
 And how Locusts sometimes are Necessity's Meat ?

III.

If, amongst their old Tales, they had chanc'd to determine
 That the *Jews* were accustom'd to feed on these Vermin,
 It would have been something ; or, did they produce
 Any one single Hermit that stor'd them for Use, 20
 Having pick'd 'em and dried 'em, and smok'd in the Sun,
 (For this, before eating, they tell us was done),

21 Pick'd them, and dry'd them, and.—B.

9. *Diodorus*, &c. It is noticeable that, of the four authors named by Byrom, Solinus and Ælian wrote after the beginning of the Christian era, which strengthens the case against Byrom. I add Dean Alford's note *ad loc.* : "The ἄκρις, permitted to be eaten, *Levit.* xi. 22, was used as food by the lower orders in *Judæa*, and is mentioned by Strabo and Pliny as eaten by the *Æthiopians*, and by many other authors as an article of food. Jerome, *adv. Jovinian.*, ii. 6, says : 'Apud Orientales et Libyæ *populos quia per desertam et calidam eremi vastitatem locustarum nubes reperiuntur, locustis vesci moris est: hoc verum esse, Joannes quoque Baptista probat.*' Shaw found locusts eaten by the Moors in *Barbary* (*Travels*, p. 164)." It will be observed that this note satisfies the demand made by Byrom in the first two lines of his third stanza ; but *vide infra*, stanzas v.-vii.

21. *Pick'd em.* One is almost tempted, notwithstanding A and B, to conjecture "pickl'd em" (cf. l. 79, *infra*).

The Example were patter than any they bring
To support such an awkward, improbable Thing,

IV.

Hermitical Food the poetical Tribe
Of Classics have happen'd sometimes to describe :
And their native Descriptions are constantly found
To relate, in some Shape, to the Fruits of the Ground.
If exception occurs, one may venture to say,
That the Locust Conceit never came in their Way,— 30
Or let its Defender declare, if he knows,
Any one single Instance, in Verse or in Prose !

V.

“ But the Word which the Text has made Use of,” ’tis said,
“ Means the *animal* Locust, wherever ’tis read,—
Of a Species which *Jews* were permitted to eat.
There is therefore no Need of a *plantal* Conceit,
Of Tops, Summits, or Buds, Pods, or Berries of Trees ;
For to this,” the sole Proof is, “ no Classic agrees ;
And the Latin ‘ *Locustæ*’ came only from want
Of Attention to signify ‘ Tops of a Plant.’ ” 40

VI.

It would take up a Volume to clear the Mistakes
Which, in this single Case, classic Prejudice makes,
Thro’ Attachment to Writers who pass a Relation
Which others had sign’d without Examination ;—
As the Authors have done who have read and have writ
That Locusts are Food which the *Law* did permit ;

39 *segg.* The Latin “ *LOCUSTÆ*, ” &c. did permit. According to the Authorised Version, the passage in *Leviticus*, xi. 21–3, is to be understood thus: “ Yet these may

46. That Locusts are Food that the LAW ye eat of every flying creeping thing that

And the Place which they quote for a Proof that it did,
Is one that will prove them expressly *forbid*.

VII.

I appeal to the *Hebrew*, and for the *Greek Word*
To the twenty-first *Iliad*, where once it occurr'd,
And where the old Prince of the Classics, one sees,
Never once thought of Insects, but Branches of Trees,
As the Context evinces ; tho', all to a Man,
Translators adopt the Locustical Plan.
How the Latin "*Locustæ*" should get a wrong Sense
Is their Business to prove who object the Pretence.

50

50 Twenty-third *Iliad*.—A and B.

goeth upon *all* four, which have legs above their feet, to leap withal upon the earth ; *even* these of them ye may eat ; the locust after his kind, and the bald locust after his kind, and the beetle after his kind, and the grasshopper after his kind. But all *other* flying creeping things, which have four feet, *shall be* an abomination unto you." The Revised Version correctly omits the italicised supplementary words, and in the last verse substitutes "*are*" for "*shall be*." Practically, however, there is no difference between the two Versions. There is nothing unusual in the coupling of a general prohibition with a particular exception ; and Byrom's assertion is based only on the fact that in *Deuteronomy*, xiv. 19, the general prohibition occurs without the exception : "And every creeping thing that flieth *is* unclean unto you : they shall not be eaten." Jewish tradition is, however, accustomed to read the passage in *Deuteronomy* in connexion with that in *Leviticus* ; and the latter, 't will be remembered, is

as a rule fuller than the former. The zoological difficulty which has been found in the last verse of the passage from *Leviticus* need not be adverted to here, inasmuch as it does not affect Byrom's point. He is certainly mistaken in supposing that animals of the "locust" (Haghhabh) kind were not permitted as food to the Israelites.

50. *To the twenty-first ILIAD.* I have corrected Byrom's text, which has "the twenty-third ;" but the passage occurs Il. xxi. 12-13 :

"*Ως δὲ θεοὶ ὑπὸ βιτηῆς πυρὸς ἀκρίδες ἡερέθουνται,*
Φευγόμεναι ποταμόνδε"—

"As when locusts [driven forth] from the blast of the fire fill the air, [seeking] to fly towards the river."

The "context" evinces nothing of the kind pretended by Byrom ; indeed, the expression

"*Ταῦ δὲ πτώσσουσι καθ' ὕδωρ*" tells the other way ; for *πτώσσεις* could hardly be predicated of anything inanimate.

VIII.

But the classical Greek, tho' it often confirm,
Cannot always explain, a *New Testament* Term,
Any more than an *Old* one ; and, therefore (to pass
All Authorities by of a paganish Class) 60
Let them ask the *Greek Fathers*, who full as well knew
Their own Tongue and the Gospel, which Meaning is true ?
But for "Insects" to find a plain Proof in their Greek
Will cut a Librarian out Work for a Week.

IX.

For "Herbs" here is one, which, unless it is match'd,
Ought to carry this Question as fairly dispatch'd.
Isidorus, Greek Father of critical Fame,
Has a Letter concerning this very Greek Name,
Dismissing the Doubt which a Querist had got,
"If the *Baptist* did eat Animalcules or not ?" 70
"God Forbid," says the Father, "a Thing so absurd !
'The Summits of Plants' is the Sense of the Word."

X.

Such an ancient Decision, so quite *à propos*,
Disperses at once all the Classical Show
Of a Learning that builds upon *Africa's* East
And the Traunts, how wild People were fabl'd to feast

67. *Isidorus*. See S. Isidori Pelutiæ *Epist.* i. cxxxii. (fol., Paris, 1638, pp. 40-1); where, to be sure, the Father explicitly states that "the locusts (*ἀκρίδες*) on which John the Baptist fed were not, as some ignorantly think, animals of the beetle kind, but the tops of herbs or plants." "Similarly," he adds, "the wild honey was not a plant called wild honey (*μέλι ἄγριον*), but actual moun-

tain honey, made by wild bees, and extremely bitter in taste." "These things," he says, "prove how John was an example of a remarkable and almost incredible castigation of the body, reducing all its appetites to bitterness not by fasting only, but also by rigour in the choice of his sustenance."

76. *Traunts*. Trash. Cf. *Sir Lowbred O . . n*, l. 72, and *note, ante*, p. 370.

Upon fancied huge Locusts, which never appear—
Or huge or unhuge—but five Months in the Year,
To be hoarded, and pickled in Salt and in Smoke.—
How Saint *John* is employ'd by these critical Folk!

80

XI.

Where the Locust could feed, such an abstinent Saint
Of Food for his Purpose could never have Want.
If the Desert was sandy and made such a Need,
How account for the Locusts descending to feed ?
In short, *Mr. Bl—k—n*, they cannot escape
The Charge of “absurd,” in all Manner of Shape.
If they can, let them do it ! Meanwhile, I conclude
That *St. John's* was the *plantal*, not *animal*, Food.

XII.

Thus, Sir, I have stated, as brief as I'm able,
The friendly Debate that we had at your Table ;
Where the kind Entertainer, I found, was inclin'd,—
And acknowledge the Pleasure,—to be of my Mind ;
Having only to add, now I make my Report,
That, howe'er we may differ in Points of this Sort,
Our Reception at *Orford* all pleas'd we review,
And rejoice in the Health of its Master.—

90

Adieu !

95. ORFORD. See *Introductory Note*.

THREE EPISTLES TO G. LLOYD, ESQ., ON
THE FOLLOWING PASSAGE IN *HOMER*:

*Oὐρῆς μὲν πρῶτον ἐπώχετο, καὶ κύνας ἀργούς.
Αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ’ αὐτοῖσι βέλος ἐχεπευκὲς ἐφιεῖς
Βάλλ’, αἰεὶ δὲ πυραὶ νεκύων καίοντο θαμειαῖ.*

Iliad. A, vv. 50-52.

*He first attacked (with his darts) the mules and the swift-footed dogs.
But next sending forth against (the men) themselves his piercing missile he
smote them, and frequent pyres were constantly being lit for the dead.*

[These *Epistles* evidently were written in 1758, when Byrom was in correspondence on the subject discussed in them with Dr. Samuel Pegge, the celebrated antiquarian (cf. *ante*, p. 476). It would appear that the Second of them was written by him at Baguley (see note to *Epistle* iii. 86). The gentleman to whom they were addressed was George Lloyd, Esq., of Hulme Hall, Manchester, eldest son of Gamaliel Lloyd of Manchester, merchant. He graduated M.B. from Queen's College, Cambridge, in 1731, and was afterwards elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He died in 1783. (*Remains*, i. 440 note.) As the frequent references in the *Remains* show, Byrom was on terms of intimacy with Mr. George Lloyd (see especially a touching passage, i. 606-7), with whom in their younger days he heartily concurred in the opposition to the Whig Workhouse Bill in 1730-1 (*ib.*, i. 491). Mr. Lloyd seems to have shared Byrom's Jacobite sentiments (*ib.*, ii. 509).

The argument advanced by Byrom in these *Epistles*, that in the Homeric passage discussed “*οὐρῆς*” signifies, not “mules,” but “guards,” and “*κύνες*” not “dogs,” but “slaves,” is in the vein of the criticisms on Horace which ensue; and nothing concerning his general attitude towards the study of the classics need be specially said here. As to the particular argument, I may content myself with reprinting from *Remains*, ii. 602-5, the very judicious letter of Dr. Samuel Pegge. As

to the translation of “κύνες” by “slaves,” Byrom, as the writer well shows, has no case; as to the rendering of “οὐρῆς” by “guards” the authority of Aristotle might seem conclusive, but his sanction is of little importance, if the verse to which it refers is spurious (see note to *Epistle* ii. l. 18). I have added to Dr. Pegge’s letter an illustrative foot-note or two.

“Whittington, May 27, 1758.

Sir : If you can be content to receive a little humble prose from a friend, I would willingly discuss that passage in Homer—*Il. A.*, οὐρῆς μὲν ἐπέχετο, καὶ κύνας ἀργούς.
Mulos quidem principio invasit, et canes veloces. For after I left you, and since my return home, I could not help reflecting upon the observations you was pleased to make upon this verse, and I here send you the result of my enquiries.

First, then : οὐρῆς may here signify guards, φύλακας, as Aristotle understood it, and as it is used *Il. K.*, 84, Ἡέ τιν' οὐρῆων διζήμενος, η τιν' ἑταῖρων. But then I cannot so easily admit that, by κύνας, the lower sort of people, or slaves, are intended, and not dogs. This assertion I propose to examine. The passages alleged in its favour are—

————— ἄμα τῷγε δῶν κύνες ἀργοὶ ἔποντο.

Odyss. B. II.

Necnon et gemini custodes limine ab alto

Præcedunt gressumque canes comitantur herilem.

AEn. viii. 461.

καὶ δ κύων τοῦ ποηδαρίου μετ' αὐτῶν.

Tobit, v. 16, xi. 4.

οἰαπερ ἡ δέσποινα, τοιάδ' ἡ κύων.

Schotti *Adag.*, p. 616, lin. 725.

But in these several authors, we are to understand the words *canes* and *κύων* literally of the canine and not of the human race ; for the appellation of dogs is never given to men but when some mark of the grossest ignominy is intended ; so Gnatho says to Chremes, *Ain' vero, canis, siccine agis?* *Eunuch.* iv. sc. 8. See Rev. xxii. 15 ; Ps. xxii. 16 ; 2 Kings viii. 13. We express it in English by *vile dogs, sad dogs.*

'Tis supposed by some that in the *Aeneid* *canes* are synonymous with *custodes*, and consequently must signify guards, that is men, there ; but what if *custodes* should be synonymous with *canes*, and *canes* is to be taken literally ? That is more probable of the two, since this word *custos* is used of a dog, *AEn. vi. 424,*

Occupat Aeneas aditum custode sepulto,

speaking of Cerberus. But the truth is, that in this passage of the viii. *Aeneid*, *custodes* and *canes* are by no means synonymous either way, but are spoken of two different things, for that is the force of *et* and *que*, which necessarily imply two various kinds of

¹ *Præcedunt* was restored by Bruack and Heyne for *procédunt*. Byrom seems to have read *pro-*
mt, Pegge *præcedunt*.

attendants; and the place is to be rendered by the English word *both*, for the sense is; “ Both a brace of guards preceded Evander, and the mastiffs accompanied him ; ” by which you see the *custodes* and *canes* are employed in two different offices, the guards *precede*, and the dogs *attend* or *accompany* their master, adhering to his side. Mr. Dryden, therefore, does not give us the whole sense of this place when he comprehends the two lines of the original in one, and makes *canes* to be synonymous with *custodes* thus :

“ Two menial dogs before their master press’d.”

This then being the clear sense of this place in the *Aeneid*, it is the key whereby we are to interpret that passage of the *Odyssey*, above cited, which the Roman poet probably had in view. It confirms also the literal sense of the word *κίνων* in the book of Tobit. And as to the proverb, though we have a saying to the same purport, *Trim tram, like master like man*, yet the Greek proverb will have a commodious sense, if you understood it literally, *As is the mistress so is her dog*; that is, if one be lazy and idle, such will be the other.

Now, as to the custom of great men being attended by their dogs, I will not cite you the modern practice of Justus Lipsius, who was always attended by a faithful companion of this species to the professor’s chair, but that of Syphax, quoted by Servius in *Aen.* viii. “ *Syphax inter duas canes stans Scipionem appellavit.* ” This I think a very clear case, for *duas canes* cannot denote maids, it being very incongruous and even absurd for Syphax to be accompanied by two maids; wherefore we must necessarily understand two bitches in this place, bitches being generally more fierce than dogs. And this, methinks, affords a mighty confirmation that we are to understand all the places above in Homer, Virgil, and Tobit literally.

I observe, lastly, that *ἀργός* is not only the proper epithet of a dog, but when it is joined with *κίνων* it either signifies swift or white, neither of which are so peculiar to man, especially not the latter, and yet I take the latter to be its true import.² See the Scholiast upon this passage of Homer,³ and the following etymology which Steph. Byz. gives of the word *κυνόσαργες*. Διόμος γαρ Ἡρακλεῖ ὡς θεῷ θνων . . . καὶ κίνων λευκὸς ἀρπάσας τὰ μῆρα, εἰς τοῦτο τὸ χώριον ἤνεγκε.

But is it not somewhat strange to see guards and dogs put together in this passage of Homer? I answer, Not at all. They are the proper attendants of heroes and great men, and are conjoined by the Latin poet above; and therefore, whereas Dr. Clarke writes “ *ἴσως οὐ τοὺς Ἡμένους λέγει, ἀλλὰ τοὺς φύλακας* — Aristotle, de Poet. c. 25 malé; *cum κίνων ἀργός statim deinceps addit Poeta;* ” rejecting the interpretation of Aristotle, because the poet so immediately adds, *κίνων ἀργός*; he ought for that very reason to have admitted it, since, as we have shown, guards and dogs consist so well together.

But are not the distempers of animals so different as not to be communicable from one species to another; or, in other words, that what may prove a plague or pestilence to one may not be so to the other? We have been taught, I am sensible, to look for

² See note to *Eph.* i. 1. 65.

³ ἀργός δὲ ἀκονστέον τοὺς λευκὸς ὅτι ἀσθενέστερά ἔστι τὰ τοιάντα σώματα τῶν ἔναντις ἔχόντων, ἀραιότερα ὄντα καὶ εὐπαθέστερα.

all sorts of knowledge and learning in Homer, but this is nothing but blind admiration ; and yet, perhaps, this may not be strictly the case here, since a murrain amongst cattle has often been known, as they say, to precede a pestilence. And, moreover, if the cause of a pestilence be in the air, or resides in any noxious exhalations issuing, by the power and action of the sun, from the body of the earth, dogs may as well, and sooner, be affected by it than men. See Mr. Pope's Note on this place, the Scholiast in Barnes, and Dr. Mead's *Treatise of Poisons*, where he speaks of the *Grotta del Cane*. The dogs, I apprehend, would be first seized in this case, and then the guards, as most exposed to the air by standing at the doors or entrances of their tents.⁴ And thus I conclude, upon the whole, that *κύνας ἀπρόδις*, in Homer, is to be understood literally.

Yours,

SAML. PEGGE.

P.S.—In Lycophron,⁵ as I remember, for I have not the author by me, *κύων* is used by Hercules, and perhaps is the only instance where it is used in a good sense when applied to a man ; pray consult that passage, and see if it be so. You see I am very honest. . . . As soon as I am at leisure I will examine that passage in St. Matthew about the "Ακριδες, and likewise take your last verses about Pope Gregory into consideration."]

EPISTLE I.

I.

THUS Homer, describing the pestilent Lot

That among the Greek Forces *Apollo* had shot,
Tells how it began, and *who* suffer'd the first,
When his ill-treated Priest the whole Army had curst,—
Or rather, *what* suffer'd ; for Custom computes
That *Apollo's* first Shafts fell amongst the poor Brutes,

⁴ The Scholiast considers that in the case of a pestilence rising from the ground, dogs would suffer first, as well because unreasoning animals are more sensitive than man, as because their heads are turned towards the ground, so that they snuff the air. *Mules* would suffer, not because their heads are turned towards the ground, but because of their compound origin which makes them easily destructible. Eustathius is very voluble in the statement of much the same arguments, and points out that mules like dogs are distinguished by their keenness of scent. Pope, in a rather Gibbonian vein, adds to these suggestions the following : "There have been some who have referred this passage to a religious sense, making the deaths of the mules and dogs before the men to point out a kind of method of Providence in punishing, whereby it sends some previous affliction to warn mankind, so as to make them shun the greater evils by repentance. This Monsieur Dacier, in his notes on Aristotle's Art of Poetry, calls a remark perfectly fine and agreeable to God's method of sending plagues on the Egyptians, where first horses, asses, &c., were smitten, and afterwards the men themselves."

⁵ He probably refers to Lycoph. v. 440, where the form *κυνες* is applied to the priests of Apollo, Mopsus, and Mantus.—CANON PARKINSON's note.

Instructing both Critics to construe and Schools
“*Kύνας ἀργοὺς*” “the Dogs,” and “*οὐρῆας*” “the Mules.”

II.

Now, observing old *Homer's* poetical Features,
I would put in one Word for the guiltless dumb Creatures,— 10
And the Famous blind Bard ; for, as far as I see,
The learn'd in this Case are much blinder than he.
At the Mules and the Dogs, in his versified *Greek*,
Nor *Phæbus* nor *Priest* had conceiv'd any Pique ;
And I doubt, notwithstanding the common Consent,
That the Meaning is miss'd which *Mæonides* meant.

III.

Why the Brutes were first plagu'd, an *Eustathius* and others
Have made a great Rout, with their physical Pothers
Of the Nature, and Causes, and Progress of Plague,—
And all to the Purpose quite foreign, and vague. 20
But be medical Symptoms whatever they will,
Such Matters I leave to Friend *Heberden's* Skill,
And propose a plain Fact to all cunninger Ken :
“That the ‘Mules,’ and the ‘Dogs,’ in this Passage, are ‘Men.’”

IV.

Just then, as they rise, to explain my Ideas :—
Let the Lexicon tell what is meant by *οὐρῆας* ;

16. *Mæonides*. Homer.

17. *Why the Brutes were first plagu'd*. See foot-note 4 to Dr. Pegge's letter in *Introductory Note*.

22. *Friend HEBERDEN'S Skill*. William Heberden, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated M.D. in 1739, after practising physic at Cambridge

settled in London about 1748, and was in the following year elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Besides his medical publications, he was a writer in the *Athenian Letters*, and contributed notes to Gray's *Hudibras*. He died in 1801, in his ninety-first year (*Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxv.).

In plain common-Sense, without physical Routs,
 "The *Grecian* Outguards, the *Custodes*, or Scouts."
 The Word may be "Mules" too, for aught that I know,
 For my *Scapula* says, "'tis, *Ionice*, so ;"
 And refers to the Lines above quoted from *Homer*,
 Where "Mules," I conceive, is an arrant Misnomer.

30

V.

If a Word has two Meanings, to critical Test
 That which makes the Sense better is certainly best.
 The Plague is here plainly describ'd to begin
 In the Skirts of the Camp, then to enter within,
 To rage, and occasion what *Iliad* styles
 "Incessantly burning their funeral Piles ;"
 Which the *Greeks*, I conjecture, were hardly such Fools
 As to burn, or erect, for the Dogs and the Mules.

40

VI.

The common *Greek* Word, the *Homeric* too,
 For "Mules" is "*Hμύλον*," where it will do ;
 And there was, as it happened, no Cause to coerce
 Its Use in this Place, for it suited the Verse.
 Whereas a plain Reason oblig'd to discard,
 If this was the Point to be shown by the Bard,
 That first to the Parties about the main Camp
Apollo despatch'd the vindictive Damp.

30 *My SCAPULA* says "'tis *IONICE*, so." *Ὀπέρις* is the Ionic form of *ὄπερις*, a name held to have been given to mules because they are chiefly used in mountainous countries. (LIDDELL and SCOTT; and see Eustathius on *Il.* i. 50, who suggests both this derivation and another which need not be cited.) "For aught that I know" is cool. The only passage in which it has sometimes

been understood to mean "guards," is the doubtful verse, *Il.*, x. 84, referred to below. The *Lexicon Greco-Latinum* of Joannes Scapula (1540-1600) enjoyed a long-lived popularity; Brunet mentions a Leyden edition of 1652 in fol., and a more costly Glasgow edition of 1816 in two vols. 4to.

48. *Vindictive*. Avenging, chastising.

VII.

Thus much for “*Oὐρῆας*.”—The meaning of “*Kύνες*”
Is attended, I own, with a little more Newness ; 50
For the Sense, in this Place, will oblige us to plant
A meaning for “*Kύνες*” which Lexicons want.
And, if that be a Reason for some to reject,
‘Tis no more than Correction, tho’ just, may expect ;
“But if it be just,” the true Critics will add,
“‘Tis a Meaning that Lexicons ought to have had.”

VIII.

Both “*Canes*” in *Latin*, and “*Kύνες*” in *Greek*,
And the *Hebrew* Word for them, if Critics would seek,
Should be rendered, sometimes, in Prose-writers or Bards,
By “Slaves,” or by “Servants,” “Attendants,” or “Guards:” 60
“*Oὐρῆας*” and “*Kύνες*” have here, in my Thought,
Much a like Kind of meaning, as really they ought ;
The Diff’rence, perhaps, that, for Camp-Preservation,
One mov’d, or patroll’d, while the other kept Station.

IX.

“*Ἄργούς*,” which is “white,” in the commonest Sense,
To describe the Dogs here has no Sort of Pretence ;
Nor here will the Lexicons help a dead Lift,
That allow the odd Choice too of “slow,” or of “swift.”

58 seqq. The HEBREW word for them, applied by Homer to hounds ; the simple &*אֲרַבָּל* only in this passage and in *Il.*, xviii. 283. The meaning “swift” is derived &c. Byrom in this assertion errs on the side of confidence. The nearest approach to a use of the Hebrew “*קְלֵב*” (“dog”) from that of “shining,” flickering, glancing. (This is not, however, a theory accepted by all etymologists.) See, however, the explanation of the Scholiast cited in the sense of the text is in *Isaiah* lvi., 10-11; but the use is here evidently figurative. (Cf. *κυνὸς δικηνὸς* *Aesch.* *Agam.*, l. 3.) In *Psalm* xxii., 16-20, the word is employed typically for a fierce enemy; cf. *Rev.* xxii., 15. I owe these references to the learning of Mr. L. Simmons.

65. “*Ἄργούς*,” which is “white,” &c. The compound epithet *πόδας ἀργός* is often

“*swift*.” “*Ἄργος*, white, swift,” and “*ἀργός*, idle, slow,” are of course two distinct words.

If the Dogs were demolish'd, 'twill certainly follow
 That "white, slow," or "swift," was all one to *Apollo* ;
 Whose fam'd Penetration was rather too deep
 Than to take Dogs for Soldiers, as *Ajax* did Sheep.

70

X.

Why them, or why "Mules"? For Description allows
 That he shot at no Horses, Bulls, Oxen, or Cows,
 With a Vengeance selecting, from all other Classes,
 Poor Dogs of some Sort, and impeccant Half-Asses.
 Now, granting, what Poem shows plainly enough,
 That *Homer* abounds with nonsensical Stuff,
 Yet it should, for his Sake, if it can, be confin'd
 To the *Pagan*, and not the *Poetical*, Kind.

80

XI.

The "Mules" and the "Dogs," being shot at, coheres
 No better with Sense, than the Bulls and the Bears.
 To excùlpate old *Homer*, my worthy Friend *Lloyd*,
 Some Sort of Correction should here be employ'd;
 And, for Languages' Sake,—in which Matters are spread
 Of a greater Concern, if old Writers are read,—
 Where it seems to be wanting, the Critics should seek
 To make out fair English for *Latin* or *Greek*.

77 Now grant, what his poem.

72. *As AJAX did sheep.* In his madness; see Soph. *Ajax*.

80. *To the PAGAN, and not the POETICAL, kind.* To matters of mythology, not of his own poetical invention. As Byrom lived before the age of comparative mythologists, he will be forgiven his impiety. Cf. below, *Ep. ii.*, l. 46: "The poor Pagan poets."

85. *And, for Languages' Sake, &c.* For the sake of an accurate knowledge of languages such as Latin and Greek, in which matters of greater importance than the present occur before us. I presume that, with his usual disparagement of the Classics (see below, on Horace), Byrom refers to the New Testament, patristic literature, &c.

XII.

If the Words have a Meaning both human and brute,
Where Homer describes his *Apollo* to shoot,
Tho' "brute" in the Latin possesses the Letter,
I take it for granted that human is better.
Do you think this a fair *Postulatum*?——"I do ;
"But you only affirm that the 'human' is true."—
That's all that I want in this present Epistle ;
In the next I shall prove it, as clear as a Whistle.

90

91. *Tho' Brute in the Latin possesses the words under discussion) to brutes. But Letter.* Though the literal meaning in why in the Latin?

EPISTLE II.

I.

YOUR Consent, I made bold to suppose, in my last,
To a fair *Postulatum* had readily pass'd:
"That a mulish Distemper, or that a caninæ,
Neither suited *Apollo's* nor *Homer's* Design,
Like making the Subjects who felt its first Shock,
To be Men like their Masters, tho' baser of Stock."
Now, Proof at the present comes under the Pen,
That "*οὐρῆς*," and "*Κύνες*," may signify "Men."

II.

You'll draw the Conclusion so fair and so just,
That if they *may* do it, they certainly *must*.

10

5. Like making. So well as making.

It would look with an unphilosophical Face,
And *anti-Rawthmelian*, to question the Case.
Tho' the Proofs of this Point, which I formerly noted,
Have slipt my Remembrance and cannot be quoted,
From *Homer* himself it may chance to appear,
As I promis'd to make it, no Whistle more clear.

III.

That *oὐρῆς* are “Guards” in *Iliadal* Lore,
You may see in Book *Kappa*, Line eighty-and-four ;
Where the wise Commentators confess in their Rules,
That “Here it is ‘Guards,’” not “*Ημίονοι*,” “Mules.” 20
Being join’d with “*έταιροί*,” “Companions,” they knew
As “*έταιροί*” were Men, that *oὐρῆς* were too.
Now let us illústrate the combated Place,
As near as we can, by a Parallel Case.

IV.

Plain Sense as I take it, if once it is shown
That *Homer* opposes to “being alone”
Having two “*Κίνες ἀργοὶ*” along with an Hero,
Will call ’em “Companions,” not “Dogs,” *in Homero*.
Turn then to his *Odyssey*, *Beta*, Line ten,

12. *Anti-Rawthmelian*. “Referring,” says a note in B, “to Rawthmel’s coffee-house, where several members of the Royal Society usually spent their evenings together.” This coffee-house, situate in Covent Garden, was named after Mr. John Rawthmell, “long a respectable parishioner of St. Paul’s, Covent Garden. Here the ‘Society of Arts’ was first established.” (CUNNINGHAM.)

18. *Book Kappa*, line eighty-and-four.

Il., x. 84 : “*ἡέ των οὐρήων διζημενος ή των ἔταλπων*.” Aristotle (*de Poët.* c. 25) says that *oὐρῆς* here *probably* (*ἴσως*) signifies not mules, but guards; and in this case the word “*οὐρεῖς*” would have to be regarded as a secondary form of “*οὐρός*,” “guardian.” But the verse was considered spurious by Aristarchus, and even if Aristotle’s translation of “*οὐρῆς*” be accepted, does not particularly well fit the context. (See *Ameis ad loc.*)

Where "Dogs," as they call 'em, are certainly "Men,"

30

Attended by whom (he will second who seeks)

Telemachus went to a Council of *Greeks*.

V.

With his Sword buckl'd on, and a Spear in his Hand,
He went (having summon'd) to meet the whole Band ;
So bravely set forth, so equipt, and so shod,
That, as *Homer* has phras'd it, "he look'd like a God :"—
"Not alone"—to enhance the Description of Song,—
"But he took with him two '*Kύνας ἀργοὺς*' along,"—
"Two swift-footed Dogs?" Yes! Two Puppies, no Doubt,
That *Apollo* had sav'd from the general Rout!

40

VI.

One can but reflect how we live in an Age
That scruples the Sense of all sensible Page,
Any Kind of old Nonsense more pleas'd to admit,
If in *Homer*, or *Virgil*, or *Horace* 'tis writ.
But yet, to do Justice to these, and the rest
Of the poor pagan Poets, it must be confess'd,
That Time, and Transcribing, and critical Note
Have father'd much on them, which they never wrote.

VII.

This Place is a Proof, how the Critics made bold
To foist their own Sense into Verses of old;

50

30. *Are certainly men.* Why so? See as to this passage, *Od.*, ii. 11 : "*οὐκ οἶστος τῷ γε δύνα κύνες ἀργοὺς ἐποντο*," the remarks of Dr. Pegge cited in my *Introductory Note*.

31. *Second.* Agree.

36. "He look'd like a God:" *u.s.*, v. 5 :

"Θεῷ ἐναλγκιος κύνην."

40. *Apollo had sav'd from the general rout.* In his haste, Byrom seems to have forgotten that Telemachus was not in the camp before Troy.

42. *Scruples the Sense.* Scruples to accept the sense—strains at sense and swallows nonsense.

For instead of two *Greeks* here, attending their Master,
 And footing a Pace neither slower nor faster,
 They have made in some Places to follow his Track
 Of their swift-footed Dogs an indefinite Pack ;
 The Son of *Ulysses* unskilfully forcing
 To go to a Council, as Men go a-Coursing.

VIII.

“Οὐκ οἶος, οὐκ οἴη,” for Master and Dame,
 “Not alone,” to interpret by *Homer’s* true Aim :
 There are Places now to evince that Attendants
 Were Men or were Maidens, were Friends or Dependants. 60
 Thus *Achilles* “οὐκ οἶος,” *Omega* rehearses,
 Had two “θεράποντες,” both nam’d in the Verses
 “*Automedon, Alcimus* ;” whom, it is said,
 “He valued the most, for *Patroclus* was dead.”

IX.

Penelope thus, in First *Odyssey* Strain,
 Two “Αμφίπολοι” follow’d,—two Women, ’tis plain,—
 When the Dame was “οὐκ οἴη,” and mention’d anon,
 How they stood to attend her, on either Side one.
 Had “Αμφίπολοι” signified “Cats” in the *Greek*,
 Would not Sense have oblig’d us new Meaning to seek ? 70
 And two Dogs as unfit as two Cats you will own,
 To describe Man or Woman “not being alone.”

X.

To close the plain Reasons that rise in one’s Mind,
 Take an Instance from *Virgil* of similar Kind :

61. *Omega* rehearses. *Il.*, xxiv. 573-5: τι' Ἀχιλεὺς ἐτάρων μετὰ Πάτροκλόν γε θα-
 “οὐκ οἶος ἄμμα τῷ γε δύῳ θεραποντες ἔποντο, γύντα.
 ἦρως Αὐτομέδων ἡδ’ Ἀλκιμος, οὐς ρα 65. In First *ODYSSEY* Strain. *Od.*i.331:
 μάλιστα “οὐκ οἴη ἄμμα τῷγε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι δύ’ ἔποντο.”

Where in fair Imitation of *Homer*, no doubt,
He describes King *Evander* to dress and march out;
And discern, by the Help of his *Mantuan Pen*,
How “*Custodes*” and “*Canes*” were both the same Men,
Where “*Canes*” are “Dogs,” as all Custom opines.
See *Virgil’s eighth Book*; ——come, I’ll copy the Lines: 80
“*Nec non et gemini custodes limine ab alto*
Procedunt, gressumque canes comitantur herilem.”

XI.

“*Kύες ἀργοὶ*” in *Homer* were then in his View,
When *Virgil* in Latin thus painted the two,
And the “*Canes*” in him are the very “*Custodes*,”
Most aptly repeated, *dignissime Sodes*.
Did ever Verse yet, or Prose ever, record
Any literal Dogs that kept Pace with their Lord?
“Proceeding,” “attending”: how plain the Suggestion
That “Dogs,” in the Case, are quite out of the Question! 90

XII.

And now I appeal to all critical Candour,
If *Homer’s* young Hero, or senior *Evander*,
Had Dogs for Companions, to honour their *Gressus*,
As Translators in Verse and in Prose would possess us?
The Moderns, I think (tho’ a Lover of Metre),
Should manage with Judgment a little discreeter,
Than to gape and admire what old Poets have sung
If it will not make Sense in their own Mother-Tongue!

92. Hero and senior.—B.

80. See *VIRGIL’S eighth Book. Aēn.* viii. 461-2. 86. *Dignissime Sodes.* If you please, most worthy Sir.

92. Senior. Aged.

EPISTLE III.

I.

HAVING shown you the Passage, one cannot avoid
 An Appendix so proper, kind Visitant *Lloyd*,
 To the Mules and the Dogs, which a little while since
 Were Guards and Piquets, as Verse sought to evince.
 Whether “*Kύνες*” attended, two-footed or four,
 Upon Heroes and Kings, let the Critics explore ;
 But “*οὐρῆς*” for “Mules,” in old *Homer’s* Intent,
 I suspect that his Rhapsodies never once meant.

II.

The Word is twice us’d, in the twenty-third Book,
 In the Space of five Lines, where I made you to look.
 I’ll refresh your Attention.——*Achilles*, know then,
 Had desir’d *Agamemnon*, the Monarch of Men,
 To exhort ‘em to bring, when the Morning appear’d,
 And prepare proper Wood, for a Pile to be rear’d
 For the Purpose of burning, as Custom instill’d,
 The Remains of *Patroclus*, whom *Hector* had kill’d.

10

III.

When the Morning appear’d with her rosyfied Fingers,
Agamemnon obey’d, and exhorted the Bringers,

9. *In the twenty-third Book.* πλ. xxiii. οἱ δὲ ισαν ὑλοτόμους πελέκεας ἐν χερσὶν
 110-115 : ἔχοντες
 “ἀτὰρ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων σειράς τ’ εὐπλέκτους· πρὸ δὲ ὅρ’ οὐρῆς κίον
 οὐρῆς τ’ ὄτρυνε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀξέμενον ὅλην πάντοθεν ἐκ κλισιῶν ἐπὶ δὲ ἀνήρ ἐσθλὸς
 δρόψει
 Μηρίσνης θεράπων ἀγαπήνορος Ἰδομενῆς. 17. *When the Morning appear’d with
 her rosyfied Fingers.* φάνη ροδοδάκτυλος
 Ἡώς. Ib., v. 109.

"The Mules and the Men,"—as Translation presents,—
Exhorted them all to come out of their Tents. 20
So the "Men" and the "Mules" lay amongst one another,
If this be the Case, in some Hammocks or other;
And the "Men," taking with 'em Ropes, Hatchets, and Tools,
Were conducted, it seems, to the Wood by the "Mules!"

IV.

For "the Mules went before 'em," the *Latinists* say :
Which, a Man may presume, was to show 'em the Way ;
Or, since there was Danger, the Mules going first
Might, perhaps, be because the Men none of 'em durst.
For they all were to pass, in their present Employ,
To the Woods of Mount *Ida*, belonging to *Troy* ; 30
And if *Trojans* fell on them, for stealing their Fire,
The Men, in the Rear, might the sooner retire.

V.

However, both mulish and well-booted Folks
Came safe to the Mountain, and cut down its Oaks,
And with more bulky Pieces of Timber cut out
They loaded such Mules, as were Mules without doubt.
When you found in the Latin so certain a Place,
Where the loading Description show'd Mules in the Case,
Your Eyes to the left I saw rolling, to seek
If the Word for these "Mules" was "*οὐρίων*" in Greek ? 40

28 Because not one of them durst.—B.

22. *In some Hammocks or other.* The slept, but spent the night, in similar juxtaposition. word *κλισταὶ* which is used for the huts (not tents) in which the besiegers lived, is also used of the cots or cabins of herdsmen; so that there is nothing absurd in the supposition, that the mules slept in one compartment and the men in the next. I have myself more than once in Greece not

25. *The LATINISTS.* Latin commentators.

38. *The loading Description.* u.s., vv.

120-I :
“τὰς μὲν [δρῦς] ἔπειτα διαπλήσσοντες Ἀχαιοὶ¹
ἔκθεον ἡμέδων.”

VI.

And had they discover'd that really it was,
 Conjecture had come to more difficult Pass ;
 But since it was not, since “*Hμιόνων*” came,
 What else but the Meaning could vary the Name ?
 Why should *Homer*, so fond (as you very well noted),
 Of repeating the Words which his Muse had once quoted,
 Make so awkward a Change, without any Pretence
 Of a Reason suggested by Metre or Sense ?

VII.

“*Hμίονοι*,” “Mules,” tho’ a masculine Ender,
 Is always in Greek of the feminine Gender ;
 But “*οὐρῆς*,” you’ll find, let it mean what it will,
 Never is of that Gender, but masculine still.
 How ridiculous then, that “*οὐρῆς*,” the He’s,
 Should become by their Loading “*Hμίονοι*,” She’s !
 In a Latin Description would Poetry pass,
 That should call ’em “*Mulbs*,” and then load ’em “*Mulás*?”

50

VIII.

Both the Word and the Sense, which is really the Bard’s,
 Show the Masculine “Mules” to be certainly “Guards.”
 Any Mules I desire any Critic to name,
 If *Jacks* in the Gender, that are not the same. 60
 One Place, which I hinted at, over our Tea,
 May be offer’d, perhaps, as a masculine Plea ;
 But, if Folks were unbiass’d, they quickly would find
 A Mistake to be there of the very same Kind.

56 And load ’em.—B.

50. *Always in Greek of the feminine* that the argument comes to nothing. *Gender.* This appears not to be the 60. *JACKS in the Gender.* On the an- case (see LIDDELL AND SCOTT); so alogy of “jackasses.”

IX.

The *Trojans* met *Priam* at one of their Gates,
With the Corps of his *Hector*, *Omega* relates ;
Whom they would have lamented there all the Day long,
Had not *Priam*, addressing himself to the Throng,
Made a Speech : “ Let me pass with the Mules,”——and so on ;
For Mules drew the Hearse which the Corpse lay upon. 70
Now, the Words that he said at the Entrance of Troy
Were : “ Οὐρεῦσι διελθέμεν εἰξατέ μοι.”

X.

Priam said to the People still hurrying down :
“ Let me pass thro’ the Guards,”——to go into the Town.
This is much better Sense, by the Leave of the Schools,
Than for *Priam* to say : “ Let me pass with the Mules.”
For *Idaeus* directed the Mulish Machine,
While Horses drew that in which *Priam* was seen ;
Who thought of no Mules, but of reaching the Dome,
Where they all might lament over *Hector* at Home. 80

XI.

The Mules had been nam’d very often before
In the very same Book, Times a Dozen or more ;
And the proper Term for ‘em had always occurr’d ;
It is only this once that we meet with this Word.
That it signifies “ Guards,” it is granted, sometimes,
As I instanc’d, you know, in the *Baguley Rhimes* ;
And will Critics suppose that the Poet would make
Variation for mere Ambiguity’s Sake ?

66. *OMEGA relates.* *Il.*, xxiv. 715 :

“ εἰξατέ μοι οὐρεῦσι διελθέμεν,”

“ pray make room for the mules to pass
through.” *Ei\xatē* should be construed with
oὐρεῦσι, and *μοι* regarded as a *dativus
ethicus*.86. *In the BAGULEY Rhimes.* I sup-pose, in *Epistle ii.*, which Byrom may have
written at Baguley, where he wrote the
First of the *Epistles to Mr. L[ancaster]*,
the Vicar of Bowdon (see *infra*), on Au-
gust 12th, 1756.

XII.

That *Apollo* should plague, *Agamemnon* exhort,
These irrational Creatures is stupid, in short ;
Where no Metamorphosis, Fable, or Fiction,
Can defend such Abuse of plain, narrative Diction.—
Perchance, as a Doctor, you'll think me unwise,
For poring on *Homer*, with present sore Eyes ;
But a Glance the most transient may see, in his Plan,
That a Mule is a Mule, and a Man is a Man.

90

CRITICAL REMARKS IN ENGLISH AND
LATIN UPON SEVERAL PASSAGES
IN *HORACE.*

[The key to the perversity which led Byrom to indulge in the strange vagaries collected in previous editions of his *Poems* under the above heading can be found only in his veneration for his "Master," Bentley. When he gave himself up, it was not in his nature to refuse giving himself up altogether. His personal regard for Bentley is easily accounted for, and does credit to the piety of his disposition,—a virtue which in philology or other exact sciences has as a rule been more honoured in the breach than in the observance, and of which therefore nothing more need be said in this place. It might have redounded to his advantage as a scholar, had he been, in Horace's own words, "*nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri.*" Bentley's method in exegesis is too well known to need description. (For a recent exposition of it see the article on *Horace*, attributed to Professor TYRELL, in the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1892). In his edition of *Horace*, Bentley is computed to have made altogether between 700 and 800 changes in the text. "His paramount guide, he declares, has been his own faculty of divination . . . Now, criticism of a text has only one proper object—to exhibit what the author wrote. It is a different thing to show what he might have written. Bentley's passion for the exercise of his divining faculty hindered him from keeping this simple fact clearly before his mind." (R. C. JEBB, *Bentley, English Men of Letters Series*, 1882, p. 131.) Even parody, of which the *Virgilius Restauratus* appended to the *Dunciad*, and probably written by Arbuthnot, was unsparing, may be almost said to have toiled after its great original in vain. Yet the following imaginary conjecture is choice :

"*Aen.* i. v. 115 :

'Excutitur, pronusque *magister*
Volvitur in caput —'

'Excutitur pronusque *magis ter*
Volvitur in caput.'"

Aio Virgilium aliter non scripsisse, quod plane confirmatur ex sequentibus — “*Ast illum ter fluctus ibidem Torquet.*” The *Aio* is delicious; almost equal to the direction, as to a precious passage: “*Sic corrige, meo periculo.*” (Cf. G. A. AITKEN, *Life and Works of Arbuthnot*, 1892, p. 370.) But, although it is admittedly a task of difficulty to paint the lily, Byrom has approached success in this direction. The cause, I fear, is to be found in the contempt which in his later years, to which these exercises of a mis-directed ingenuity may be safely assigned, he had brought himself to entertain both for classical authors in general, and for “Dear Joy Horace” (cf. the first of the ensuing pieces, l. 88), as the representative pagan poet, in particular. Perhaps the clearest, and most hopelessly, prejudiced statement of the point of view at which Byrom finally arrived, will be found in his lines, *A Hint to Christian Poets* (*infra*, vol. ii.).

As to Byrom’s Latin scholarship, it would ill become me to do more than indicate as concisely as possible in each case my view of my author’s attempts at improving the text before him.

The translations of the incriminated passages are here reproduced from B.]

I.

AN EPISTLE TO A FRIEND, PROPOSING A CORRECTION IN THE FOLLOWING PASSAGE:

“*Si non Acrisium Virginis abditæ
CUSTODEM PAVIDUM, Jupiter et Venus
Risissent.*

—*Lib. iii., Od. 16, vv. 5-7.*

*If Jupiter and Venus had not laughed at Acrisius, the affrighted keeper
of the concealed virgin.”*

[Byrom proposes to read “*Custodemque avidum:*” “*And the covetous
guard, whom Acrisius had placed as a strict watchman over his incar-
cerated daughter. By this he makes the guard to have been bribed, and
not Acrisius, who is nowhere charged with such a love for the precious*

metals as to prefer the possession of them to his existence.”—B. “*Custodem*” (with a “scratched” or barred *que*) is the reading of Codex Parisinus, 7971. Maclean notes on the conclusion of this stanza,—

“*fore enim tutum iter et patens
Converso in pretium Deo :*”

“‘*Premium*’ has reference to the corruption of the guards, the price at which they were bought; and Francis, who renders ‘transformed to gold,’ gives too much weight to the authority of Dacier,” who says: “‘*premium*’ est ici un synonyme de l’or,” and so translates it. Ovid applies the bribe to Danaë herself:

“*Sed postquam sapiens in munera venit adulter,
Præbuit ipsa sinus et dare jussa dedit.*

— *Am. iii. 8, 33.*”

The futility of Byrom’s conjecture lies of course in the assumption of his first line: “So then, you think, &c.” Nobody really thinks anything of the kind. Acrisius was his daughter’s keeper, but did not mount guard over her in person; nor was it the stern parent, but the yielding sentinel, whom Jupiter and Venus knew there would be no difficulty in bribing; so that they laughed at the anxiety of Danaë’s father.]

SO then, you think *Acrisius* really sold
His Daughter *Danaë*, himself, for Gold;
When the whole Story of the Grecian King
Makes such a Bargain so absurd a Thing,
That neither Poetry nor Sense could make
The Poet guilty of the vile Mistake!

No, Sir; her Father, here, was rich enough;
Satire on him, for selling her, is Stuff.
Fear was his Motive to a vast Expense
Of Gates and Guards to keep her in a Fence;
But some dull Blockhead, happ’nning to transcribe
When half asleep, has made HIM take the Bribe,
Which *Jupiter* and *Venus*, as the Bard
Had writ, made use of to corrupt the GUARD.

All the Remarks on Avarice are just,
But 'twas the Keeper that betray'd his Trust.

Passage from *Virgil* which you here select us,
How Gold is "cogent of mortale pectus,"
And from *Euripides*, that "Gold can ope
Gates"—unattempted even by the Pope — 20
Show Money's Force on Subjects that are vicious ;
But what has this to do with King *Acrisius*,
Who spar'd no Money to secure his Life,
Lost, if his Daughter once became a Wife ?
He shut her up for fear of Death, and then
Sold her himself? — All Stuff! I say again.
Death was his dread ; nor was it in the Pow'r
Of Love's Bewitchment, or of Money'd Show'r,
Of *Venus*, *Jupiter*, or all the Fry
Of *Homer's* Heav'n, to hire the Man to die. 30

Where is his Avarice, of any Kind,
Noted in all the Fables that you find,
Except in those of your inventing Fashion
That make him old, and Avarice his Passion,—

17. Passage from VIRGIL, &c. :

"Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri Sacra fames?" — *Æn.*, iii. 56-7.

19. And from EURIPIDES. I cannot find the passage in Euripides, unless, as Dr. England has suggested to me, Byrom should have merely attempted a free translation of :

τὸν γὰρ κάκιστον πλούτος εἰς πρώτους ἔγει.

Alcmena, *Fragm.* 96. (Nauck).

Byrom could hardly have been thinking of the fragment of the *Danaë*, which makes the quite different assertion :

*οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτε τεῖχος οὕτε χρήματα
οὕτ' ἄλλο δυσφύλακτον οὐδὲν ὡς γυνῆ.*

24. Lost, if his Daughter once became a Wife? According to the legend, the Delphic Oracle had warned Acrisius, that his daughter would bear a son who would slay her father and rule over his and many other lands. Perseus afterwards fulfilled the oracle at the funeral games instituted by King Teutamias of Larisa, by an unlucky cast of the discus which fatally struck the foot of Acrisius.

32. In all the Fables. The subject seems in one way or another to have been treated by the three Attic tragedians, and by Nævius after them.

To hide the Blunder of *Amanuenses*,
 Who, writing Words, full oft unwrit the Senses ?
 Fact that in *Horace*, in a World of Places,
 Appears by irrecoverable Traces ;
 On which the Critics raise a learned Dust,
 And, still adjusting, never can adjust ;
 Having but one of all the Roman Lyrics
 To feed their Taste for slavish Panegyrics ;
 The more absurd the Manuscriptal Letter,
 They paint from thence some fancied Beauty better ;
 Hunting for all the Colours, round about,
 To make the Nonsense beautifully out ;
 Adorning richly, for the Poet's Sake,
 Some poor hallucinating Scribe's Mistake.

40

Now, I would have a Short-hand Son of mine
 Be less obsequious to the Classic Line,
 Than, right or wrong, to yield his Approbation,
 Because *Homeric*, or because *Horatian* ;
 Or not to see, when it is fairly hinted,
 Either original Defect or printed.
 Not that it matters Two-pence, in Regard
 Of either *Grecian* or of *Roman* Bard,

50

40. *And still adjusting, never can adjust.*
 Cf. Pope's :

"And so obliging, that he ne'er oblig'd."

—(*Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, l. 208.)

41. *Lyrics.* Lyrical poets. But the statement is, of course, audaciously incorrect.

43. *The more absurd the Manuscriptal Letter, &c.* Or as Byrom said in the speech cited above (p. 253, note): "There are few blunders a librarian," i.e. copyist, "can make but a commentator will defend."

49. *A Short-hand Son of mine.* So Dr. Deacon, in a letter to Byrom (*Remains*, i. 249), speaks of himself as Byrom's son. The

phrase was possibly suggested by the usage of Ben Jonson, who said of Cartwright : "My son Cartwright writes all like a man."

The word "manuscriptal" is used by Byrom in a different sense, *ante*. p. 104.

55 *segg. Not that it matters Two-pence, &c.* Byrom's notions on the study of the classics have been already sufficiently illustrated. It may be added that the experiment of substituting Christian for pagan classics as educational text-books was actually made in the great Pietistic institution conducted at Halle by A. H. Francke in the closing years of the 17th and first quarter of the 18th century.

If Schools were wise enough to introduce
 Much better Books for Education's Use!
 But since, by force of Custom or of Lash,
 The Boys must wade thro' so much Traunt and Trash 60
 To gain their Greek and Latin, they should learn
True Greek, at least, and Latin to discern;
 Nor, for the sake of Custom, to admit
 The Faults of Language, Metre, Sense, or Wit.
 Because this blind Attachment by Command
 To what their Masters do not understand,
 Makes Reading servile, in the younger Flock,
 Of riming *Horace* down to prosing *Locke*;
 Knowledge is all mechanically known,
 And no innate Idéas of their own.

70

But, while I'm riming to you what comes next,
 I shall forget th' *Acrisius* of the Text.
 Your Reasons, then, why this "*Custodem pavidum*"
 Should not be chang'd to "*Custodemque avidum*,"
 Turn upon Avarice. You think the Father,
 Fond of the Bribe,—I think, the Keeper rather,
 Who had no Fear from *Danaë*, the Wife
 Who could receive the Gold and lose no Life,—
 Must needs be he; and that, without the Change,
 The Verse is unpoetically strange.

80

You make *Acrisius* to have been the Guard,
 And to be "*Pavidus*."—Extremely hard

60 Much scum and trash.—B.

60. *Traunt* (for which B reads "scum"). Cf. ante, p. 481, *An Epistle to J. Bl—k—n, Esq.*, l. 76. and note. allusion which follows, than because his *Essay* was actually in vogue as a school-book.

68. *LOCKE*. I imagine that Locke is rather introduced for the sake of the l. 24 ante, and note.

77. *No fear from Danaë the wife*. See

To make out either ! For what other Place
 Shows that the King was Jailer in the Case ?
 And is not " *Pavidus*" a *dictum gratis* ?
 Was not his *Danaë*, " *munita satis*,"
 " Safe kept enough ? " If " *pavidus* " come after,
 The " *Dear Joy* " *Horace* must provoke one's Laughter,
 Plain common Sense suggesting, all the while :
 " Not Fear, but fancied Safety gave the Smile." 90
 Safe as *Acrisius* thought himself to be,
 The " *Custos avidus* " would take a Fee ;
 A golden shower, they knew, would break his Oath,
 And *Jupiter* and *Venus* laugh'd at both.

88. " *Dear Joy* " *Horace*. I do not know the source of this affectionate phrase, recalling Horace's own " *dule decus*," but here of course used in irony. Less decent is the analysis of Horace's effect as a poet in ll. 23-4 of the verses on Od. iv. 3, 13-15 *infra*.

90. *Not Fear, but fancied Safety gave the Smile*. They laughed at him, not because he was afraid, but because he fancied he had *Danaë* safe.

II.

A DIALOGUE.

" *Sume Mæcenas Cyathos Amici
 Sospitis CENTUM.*

—Lib. iii., Od. 8, vv. 13-14.

Take Mæcenas, a hundred cups with thy friend [or rather : to the health of thy friend] who is now in safety."

[Byrom proposes for " *centum* " to read " *cantum* ; " so that, as translated in B, the stanza would mean :

" *Mæcenas, take some cups (of wine), on account of your friend being in safety ; begin a song, and keep up the cheerful lights till day-break ; let all noise and anger be far removed.*"

The conjecture may be dismissed as equally unnecessary and clumsy. As is rightly observed in stanza II., no commentator has stumbled at the familiar kind of hyperbole to which Byrom takes exception; while the notion of keeping up noiselessly the sound of song is to say the least infelicitous.

In B the dialogue is carried on between "John" and "Richard," the latter, considering that it was Bentley's, an oddly chosen name.]

I.

WHAT! must *Mæcenas*, when he sups
With *Horace*, drink a Hundred Cups?
A Hundred Cups *Mæcenas* drink!
Where must he put them all, d'ye think?
Pray, have the Critics all so blunder'd,
That none of 'em correct this "*Hundred?*"

II.

"Not that I know has any one
"Had any Scruple thereupon;
"And for what Reason, pray, should you?
"The Reading, to be sure, is true;
"A hundred Cups : that is to say:
"*'Mæcenas!* come, and drink away!"

10

III.

If that was all the Poet meant,
It is express'd without the "*Cent.*"
"*Sume, Mæcenas, Cyathos*"
Does it full well without the Dose,—
The monst'rous Dose in Cup or Can,
That suits with neither Bard nor Man!

IV.

“Nay, why so monst’rous ? Is it told
“How much the ‘*Cyathus*’ would hold ?
“You think perhaps it was a Mug,
“As round as any *Johnian* Jug.
“They drank all Night ; if small the Glass,
“Would ‘*Centum*’ mount to such a Mass ?”

20

V.

Small as you will, if ’twas a Bumper,
“*Centum*” for One would be a Thumper.
Its Bulk *Horatian* Terms define :
“*Vates attonitus*” with nine ;
“*Gratia*” forbidding more than three.
They were no Thimbles, you may see.

30

VI.

“Not in that Ode ; in this they might
“Intend a more diminish’d Plight ;
“And, then, *Mæcenas* and the Bard
“That Night, I warrant ye, drank hard ;

22 *Johnian*. A and B : *Ionian*.

22. *As any JOHNIAN Jug*. I have ventured, by way of a conjecture of my own, to read “*Johnian*” for “*Ionian*.” The former adjective was commonly used before the middle of the century, and I think it more likely that the reference is to some Johnian rival of the Trinity “Barrington” (see below), than that “*Ionian*” is barbaric for “*Ionian*.”

27. *Its Bulk HORATIAN Terms define, &c.* The passage, *Od. iii. 19, 11-17*, to which Byrom here refers is full of difficulty. It

seems, however, to signify that, while the proportion of nine to three of water to wine in the drinking-bowl may suit inspired bards, the graces (*i.e.* good manners) forbid the proportion of the three *plus* nine of wine,—in other words, a mixture like the Irish punch of which the composition was unspoilt by so much as a drop of water. Twelve *cyathi* (drink-ladles) went to a *sex-tarius*; hence the measure of a *cyathus* was about one-twelfth of our pint. (See Maclean’s note *ad loc.*)

“‘*Perfer in Lucem*,’ Horace cries ;
“To what a Pitch might Numbers rise !”

VII.

A desperate long Night, my Friend,
Before their hundred Cups could end !
Nor does the Verse invite, throughout,
Mæcenas to a drunken Bout :
“*Perfer in Lucem*” comes in View
With “*procul omnis clamor*” too.

40

VIII.

“Was it no Bout, because no Noise
“Should interrupt their Midnight Joys ?
“*Horace*, you read, with annual Tap,
“Notes his escape from dire Mishap :
“Must he, and Friends conven’d, be sober,
“Because ’twas March, and not October ?

IX.

“Sober or drunk” is not the Case,
But Word and Meaning to replace,
Both here demolish’d. Did they, pray,
Do nothing else but drink away ?
For Friends conven’d had *Horace* got
No Entertainment but to sot ?

50

45. *Horace, you read, with annual Tap,*
&c. In a previous stanza of this Ode,
which invites *Mæcenas* to a friendly ban-
quet on the Kalends of March, Horace de-
clares that he had vowed so to keep the

anniversary of his escape from the fall of
a tree. See also *Od.* ii. 13. “October”
is of course an English allusion.

54. *To sot.* To play the sot.

X.

“Yes, to be sure ; he might rehearse
“Some new or entertaining Verse ;
“Might touch the Lyre, invoke the Muse,
“Or twenty Things that he might choose.
“No doubt but he would mix along
“With Cup and Talk the joyous *Song*.⁶⁷

60

XI.

Doubtless, he would ; and that's the Word,
For which a “*Centum*” so absurd
Has been inserted, by Mistake
Of his Transcribers, scarce awake ;
Which all the Critics when they keep,
Are, *quoad hoc*, quite fast asleep ;

XII.

For that's the Word !——“What Word d'ye mean ?
“For Song does ‘*Centum*’ intervene ?
“Song would be——O, I take your Hint :
“‘*Cantum*,’ not ‘*Centum*,’ you would print,
“‘*Sospitis Cantum*,’——but the Clause
“Can have no Sense with such a Pause.”⁶⁸

70

XIII.

Pause then at “*Sospitis*,” nor strike
The three Cæsuras all alike ;

67 And that's.—B.

68. Which all the Critics when they keep. Which when they keep, i.e., decline to alter, all the Critics, &c.

One Cup of *Helicon* but quaff,
 The Point is plain as a Pikestaff :
 "The Wine, the Song, the Lustre's Light,"—
 The Verse, the Pause, the Sense is right.

XIV.

"Stay, let me read the Sapphic out
 "Both Ways, and then resolve the Doubt :

80

*Sume Mæcenas cyathos Amici
 Sospitis centum, et vigiles Lucernas
 Perfer in Lucem ; procul omnis esto
 Clamor et Ira !*

*Sume Mæcenas cyathos Amici
 Sospitis ; Cantum, et vigiles Lucernas
 Perfer in Lucem ; procul omnis esto
 Clamor et Ira !*

"Well, I confess, now I have read,
 "The Thing is right that you have said ;
 "One Vowel rectified, how plain
 "Does Horace's Intent remain !"

90

III.

"*Nonumque prematur in Annum.*

—*De Art. Poët. v. 388.*

And let it be suppressed till the ninth year."

[Byrom proposes "*unumque*" for "*nonumque*." I doubt whether, even supposing that there were grounds for the change, *unum* would

idiomatically express Byrom's meaning, and whether it would not rather imply "one year only" than "a whole year."]

I.

YE Poets, and Critics, and Men of the Schools,
Who talk about *Horace* and *Horace's Rules*,
Ye learned Admirers, how comes it, I wonder,
That none of you touch a most tangible Blunder ?
I speak not to servile and sturdy Logicians,
Who will, right or wrong, follow printed Editions ;
But you that are Judges, come, rub up your Eyes,
And unshackle your Wits,—and I'll show where it lies !

II.

Amongst other Rules which your *Horace* has writ
To make his young *Piso* for Poetry fit,
He tells him, that Verses should not be pursued
When the Muse (or *Minerva*) was not in the Mood ;
That, whate'er he should wish, "he should let it descend
To the Ears of his Father, his Master, his Friend,
And let it lie by him,"— now prick up your Ears!—
"Nonumque prematur in Annum,"—"nine years."

10

III.

"Nine Years," I repeat ; for the Sound is enough,
With the Help of plain Sense, to discover the Stuff.
If the Rule had been new, what a Figure would "nine"
Have made with your *Piso's*, ye Masters of mine ?

20

14. *To the Ears of his Father, his Master, his Friend.* In the original (v. 387): "In Mæci descendat judicis aures." Sp. Mæcius (Metius) Tarpa appears to have long performed the functions of theatrical censor, formerly entrusted to the ædiles, but then committed to a special board of six members.

Must a Youth of quick Parts, for his Verse's Perfection,
 Let it lie for "nine Years" in the *House of Correction*?
 Nine Years if his Verses must lie in the Leaven,
 Take the young Rogue himself, and transport him for seven !

IV.

To make this a Maxim that *Horace* infuses,
 Must provoke all the Laughter of all the nine Muses.
 How the Wits of old *Rome*, in a Case so facetious,
 Would have jok'd upon *Horace*, and *Piso*, and *Metius*,
 If they all could not make a poetical Line
 Ripe enough to be read, till the Year had struck nine ! 30
 Had the Boy been possest of nine Lives, like a Cat,
 Yet surely he'd ne'er have submitted to that !

V.

"Vah!" says an old Critic, "Indefinite Number
 To denote many Years"—(which is just the same Lumber) ;

21. *A Youth of quick Parts.* Horace's Epistle seems actually to have been addressed to L. Piso (afterwards *prefectus urbi*) a man of about forty years of age, and his two youthful sons, of whom nothing is known.

33. "Vah." This interjection, so printed in both A and B, I presume to be equivalent to "Bah!"

34. *Quotes a Length of QUINTILIAN, &c.* Quotes a passage from Quintilian where he recommends that a work should be left to the retouching of time, but stops short at his protest against this period being over-long.

The passage cited is in *Inst. Orator*, Lib. x. c. 4: "Nec dubium est, optimum esse emendandi genus, si scripta in aliquod tempus reponuntur, ut ad ea post intervalum, velut nova atque aliena, redeamus . . .

Sed neque hoc contingere sæpe potest . . . et emendatio finem habeat . . . Non quod Cinna Zmyrnam novum annis accepimus scriptem, et Panegyricum Isocratis, qui parcissime decem annis dicunt elaboratum, ad oratorem nihil pertinet."

In Keller and Holder's *Horace*, pp. 370-1, the following *Testimonia* are cited, which at all events show the acceptance accorded to the time-honoured reading impugned by Byrom: "Quintilianus, prefat. ad Tryphonem, § 2: 'Usus deinde Horati consilio, qui in arte poetica suadet ne precipitetur editio nonumque prematur in annum.' . . . Flagrius ad Vergil. Eclog. 9, 35: 'Cinna Zmyrnam scripsit quam nonum post annum, ut Catullus ait, edidit; id quod et Quintilianus ait; unde etiam Horatium in arte poetica dicunt ad

Quotes a Length of *Quintilian* for *Time to retouch* ;
 But wisely stops short at his blaming *too much*.
 "Some took many Years" ; he can instance, in fine,
"Isocrates ten, Poet *Cinna* just nine ;"—
 Rare Instance of taking, which, had he been cool,
 Th' old Critic had seen, never could be a Rule. 40

VI.

"Indeed," says a young one, "nine Years, I confess,
 Is a desperate While for a Youth to suppress..
 I can hardly think *Horace* would make it a Point ;
 The Word, to be sure, must be out of its Joint ;
 Lie by with a '*Nonum*'!—Had I been his *Piso*,
 I'd have told little *Fatty*, mine never should lie so.
 Had he said for nine Months, I should think them enow.
 This Reading is false, Sir ; pray, tell us the True!"

VII.

Why, you are not far off it, if present Conjecture
 May furnish the Place with a probable Lecture ; 50
 For by Copies, I doubt, either printed or written,
 The Hundreds of Editors all have been bitten.
 Nine Months you allow?—"Yes."—Well, let us, for fear

eum allusisse, cum ait: nonumque prematur in annum.' Gunzo Nonariensis apud Marten. vett. scriptt. ampl. coll. i. 297^a : 'Si quidem Cinna librum suum Smyrnam decem annis elimavit, Horatius in nonum annum carmina sine publica ostentione producenda percepit.'

As to G. Helivus *Cinna*, of whose *Smyrna* Catullus (xcv. 1-2) records the same fact as that mentioned by Quintilian, see the notes *ad loc.*, and Teuffel's *Ge-schichte der röm. Literatur* (1870), 200-2 : where Plutarch's slip as to his identity, reproduced by Shakspere in his *Julius Cæsar*, iii. 3, is corrected.

In the *Preface* to his *Solomon on the Vanity of the World*, Prior says that he has in a literal sense obeyed Horace's precept, but offended against its spirit by leaving his poem untouched after he had laid it aside. Not all authors who in their riper years print the effusions of an earlier time, are equally candid.

46. Little FATTY. Cf. Hor. *Epist. i. 4, 15-16* :
"Me pinguem et nitidum bene curatū cute vises
Cum ridere voles Epicuri de grege porcum."
 Suetonius says of him : "Habitu corporis brevis fuit atque obesus."

Of affronting *Quintilian*, e'en make it a Year :
 Give the Critics their " *numque*," but as to their " *no* " —
 You have *one* in plain English more fit to bestow.

VIII.

I take the Correction : " *unumque prematur*"
 " Let it lie for one Twelvemonth." — " Ay, that may hold Water ;
 And Time enough too for consulting about
 Master *Piso's* Performance, before it came out ! 60
 What ! Would *Horace* insist, that a Sketch of a Boy
 Should take as much Time, as the taking of *Troy* ?
 They that bind out the young one, say, when the old Fellow
 Took any Time like it, to make a Thing mellow.

IX.

Tho' correct in his Trifles" ! — Young Man, you say right,
 And to them that will see, it is plain at first Sight ;
 But Critics that will not, they hunt all around
 For something of sameness, in Sense or in Sound ;
 It is all one to them so attach'd to the Letter,
 That to make better Sense makes it never the better. 70
 Nay, the more Sense in Readings, the less they will own 'em ;
 You must leave to these Sages their *mumpsimus* " *Nonum*. "

X.

" Do you think," they cry out, " that with so little Wit
 Such a World of great Critics on *Horace* have writ ?
 That the Poets themselves, were the Blunder so plain,
 In a Point of their Art too, would let it remain ? "
 For you are to consider, these critical Chaps
 Do not like to be snubb'd ; you may venture, perhaps,
 An Amendment, where they can see somewhat amiss ;
 But may raise their ill Blood, if you circulate this. 80

63. *They that bind out the young one, say.* Let them who bind out young *Piso*
 to so long an apprenticeship, say.

XI.

"It will circulate, this, Sir, as sure as their Blood,
Or, if not, it will stand, as in *Horace* it stood.
They may wrangle and jangle, unwilling to see;
But the Thing is as clear as a Whistle to me.
This "*Nonum*" of theirs no Defence will admit,
Except that a Blot is no Blot, till it's hit;
And now you have hit it, if "*Nonum*" content 'em,
So would, if the Verse had so had it, "*Nongentum*."

XII.

You'll say, "this is painting of Characters";—true;
But really, good Sirs, I have met with these two:—
The first, in all Comments quite down to the *Delphin*,
A Man, if he likes it, may look at himself in;
The last, if you like, and, along with the Youth,
Prefer to "*Nonumque*" poetical Truth,
Then blot out the Blunder, now here it is hinted,
And by all future Printers "*Unumque*" be printed!

90

81 This as surely will circulate, Sir, as—B.

IV.

"*Nunc et CAMPUS et AREÆ,*
Lenesque sub noctem susurri
Compositâ repetantur horæ.

—*Lib. i. Od. 9, vv. 18-20.*

*Now let both the Campus Martius, and the open squares, and soft
whispers be resorted to again, at the hour of assignation.*"

[Byrom proposes to read, instead of "*Campus*" and "*areæ*," "*cantus*"
and "*aleæ*." As the reference to Sanadon (stanza III.) suggests, there is

more point in this than in most of the emendations upon which Byrom expended his ingenuity. But the French critic's explanation more than suffices to remove the difficulty. At the same time, the special objection urged in stanza VIII. against the reading "*Campus*" is rather felicitous. On the other hand, Byrom might have supported his conjecture "*aleæ*" by mentioning that gambling was allowed during the Saturnalia; but this may have been the point he purposely left for other "Cantabs" to make.]

I.

BY "*Campus*," and by "*Areeæ*," my Friends,
The Question is, what *Horace* here intends?
For such Expression with the current Style
Of this whole Ode is hard to reconcile;
Nay, notwithstanding critical Pretence,
Or I mistake, or it can have no Sense.

II.

The Ode, you find, proceeding to relate
A Winter's Frost in its severest State,
Calls out for Fire, and Wine, and Loves, and Dance,
And all that *Horace* rambles to enhance;
But how can this *fair-Weather* Phrase belong
To such a wintry, saturnalian Song?

10

III.

A learned Frenchman quotes these very Lines
As really difficult; and thus refines:
"We use these Words," says *Monsieur Sanadon*,

10. *Rambles to enhance.* Is wont in his rambling way to extol. Cf. *infra* (No. VIII. of this series): "In rambling Ode, where no design coheres."

12. *Saturnalian.* The *Saturnalia* were celebrated in December.

15. MONSIEUR SANADON. The celebrated Jesuit scholar, Noel Étienne Sanadon (1676-1733), professor and afterwards librarian at the Collège Louis-le-Grand at Paris. He published *Theses Horatianæ* in 1717; but his most famous work was

“For nightly Meetings, *hors de la Maison* ;
“But 'tis ridiculous, in Frost and Snow
“Of keenest Kind, that *Horace* should do so.”

IV.

Right, *Monsieur*, right ; such incoherent Stuff
Is here, no Doubt, ridiculous enough.

20

The *Campus Martius*, and its active Scenes,
Which Commentators say th' Expression means,
Have here no Place ; nor can they be akin
To Scenes not laid without Doors, but within.

V.

“‘Nunc’ must refer,” proceeds the French Remark,
“To ‘Donec——Puer,’ Age of *Taliarque* ;
“Not to the Frost, for which the Bard, before,
“Design'd the two first Strophes, and no more ;
“As Commentators rightly should have taught,
“Or inattentive Readers else are caught.”

30

VI.

Now “inattentive” Critics too, I say,
Are caught, sometimes, in their dogmatic Way.
United here, we must divide, forsooth,
The Time of Winter from the Time of Youth,
When all Expressions of *Horatian* Growth
Do, in this Ode, 'tis plain, refer to both !

36 Do plainly, in this Ode.—B.

his *Poésies d'Horace*, a translation accompanied by a life and ample commentaries, published in 1728 and re-published in 1747 and 1756.

26. *Age of Taliarque*. The youthful age of the Thaliarchus apostrophised *eo nomine* in l. 8 of Horace's Ode. In several

of the MSS. this Ode is inscribed to “Taliarus” or “Thaliarcus,” with the addition in most of “puer” or “puer speciosus.” Some commentators, however, take the word to be a common noun, signifying “συμποσιάρχος,” *magister convivii*.

VII.

Youthful th' Amusements, and for frosty Week ;
 From drinking, dancing, down to *hide and seek* ;
 But "*Campus*" comes, and "*Areæ*," between,
 By a Mistake too big for any Screen ;
 And how nonsensically join'd with Lispers,
 "By Assignment met," of "nightly Whispers" !

40

VIII.

Strange, how Interpreters retail the Farce,
 That "*Campus*" here should mean "*the Field of Mars*" !
 When in their Task they must have just read o'er
 Contrast to this, the very Ode before;
 Where ev'ry manly Exercise disclos'd
 To Love's Effeminacy stands oppos'd.

50

IX.

In this, no thought of any Field on Earth,
 But warm Fire-side and Roman Winter's Mirth ;
 No thought of any but domestic "*Ring*,"
 Where all Decembrian Customs took their Swing,
 And where—but come, that Matter we'll suppress ;
 There should be something for *Cantábs* to guess !

X.

I'll ask anon, from what has now been said,
 If Emendation pops into your Head ;

38. HIDE AND SEEK. A remarkably happy condensation of the final stanza of the Latin Ode :

*"Nunc et latentis proditor intimo
 Gratus puella risus ab angulo,
 Pignasque dereptum lacertis
 Aut digito male pertinaci."*

46. *The very Ode before.* Which, nominally addressed to Lydia, in fact upbraids the youth whom her seductions detain from manly exercises.

52. "RING." A good translation of "*area*."

Or if you'll teach me how to comprehend
That all is right, and Nothing here to mend.—
Come, sharpen up your Latin Wits a bit;
What are they good for else, these Odes that *Horace* writ? 60

60 What further use have all the Odes.—B.

V.

*“Cedes coëmptis saltibus, et domo ;
Villâque, flavus quam Tiberis lavit,
Cedes; et EXSTRUCTIS IN ALTUM
DIVITIIS potietur heres.*

—Lib. ii. Od. 3, vv. 17-20.

You shall leave your purchased lawns, and your house; you shall retire from the villa, which is washed by the yellow Tiber; and an heir shall enjoy your riches high piled up.”

[Byrom proposes for “divitiis” to read “aedificiis.” The editor of B, after instructing his readers how to scan this emendation, by cutting off the last syllable of “altum” according to rule “by Ecthlipsis,” characterises it as “the least plausible of all the corrections of Horace, which our author has offered.” This is saying much, but not too much.]

I.

THIS Phrase of “Riches built on high”
Has something in it, at first Sight,
Which, if the Latin Language try,
Must needs appear not to be right.

3. *If the Latin language try.* If the Latin language conduct the trial, be judge.

Produce an Instance, where before
'Twas ever us'd,—I'll say no more!

II.

Talk not of “Riches pil’d on Heaps,”
To justify the Latin Phrase ;
For if you take such critic Leaps,
You jump into *Dog-Latin* Days ;
And I shall answer to that Trick :
“*In med' mente non est sic.*”

10

III.

That “Lands” were here the Poet’s Thought,
And “House along the River’s Side,”
And “lofty Villa,” built or bought,
Is much too plain to be denied.
These “high-extracted Spires” he writ
That mortal *Dellius* must quit.

IV.

“Well, Sir, supposing this the Case,
“And ‘Structures’ what the Poet meant :
“How will you fill the faulty Place
“With Phrase that suited his Intent ;
“Meaning and Metre both arrange,
“And small, if possible, the Change ?”

20

5. *Produce an instance.* Byrom’s objection seems to be to the figure “*exstrueredivitiastinalatum*,” to heap up riches; which in my lexicon is directly preceded by “*exstruere stramenta in-acervum. (Columella.)*”

18. *Mortal DELLIUS.* Q. Dellius, to

whom this Ode is generally supposed to be addressed (though two MSS. have Gellius and Bellius respectively), and who is apostrophised in v. 4 of the original as “*mori-ture Dellii.*”

V.

Smaller and better, to be sure,
 Into their Place Amendments fall ;
 What first occurs will here secure
 Meaning and Meter, Change and all.
 May it not be that for "Divitiis"
 Th' Original had "Æ—dificiis ?"

30

VI.

If you object that sep'rate "Æ"
 Makes in one Word an odd Division,
Horace, I answer to that Plea,
 Has more than once the like Elision.
 In short, upon Correction's Plan,
 Give us a better, if you can.

34. *The like Elision.* E.g., *Lib. i.* " *Labitur . . . non probante, uxorius amnis.*"
Od. 2, vv. 19–20 :

VI.

"*Non est meum, si mugiat Africis
 Malus procellis, ad miseras preces
 Decurrere, et votis pacisci,
 Ne Cypriae Tyriæque merces*

*Addant avaro divitias mari.
 Tum me biremis praesidio scaphæ
 Tutum per Ægæos tumultus
 Aura FERET geminusque Pollux.*

—*Lib. iii. Od. 29, vv. 57–64.*

It is no part of my concern, if the mast be cracked by African storms, to descend to piteous entreaties, and by my vows to make an agreement that my Cyprian and Tyrian wares shall not augment the treasures of the greedy ocean. Then, under the safe-guard of a two-oared skiff, the breeze and the twin-brother Pollux [or rather: Pollux and his twin-brother] will waft me safely through the Ægean tempests."

[Byrom proposes in this passage "*cum*" for "*tum*," and "*ferat*" for "*feret*." Several *MSS.* read "*tunc.*" "*Ferat*" is a reading to which already Bentley inclined; but there seems to be no sufficient authority for the use of the pres. subj. in the sense of "would bear." Byrom's double conjecture, besides involving this doubtful use, is surely not needed to bring out the sense, as he seems in substance correctly to render it in his concluding stanza: "Let others sail in the midst of storms on their Africa-bound argosies: the poet shall be wafted safe through the Ægean billows in his little bark."]

I.

THIS Passage, Sirs, may put ye, one would think,
In mind of him, who, in a furious Storm
Told that the Vessel certainly would sink,
Made a Reply in the Horatian Form:
"Why, let it sink then, if it will!" quoth he;
"I'm but a Passenger,—what is't to me?"

II.

So, "*non est meum,*" Horace here cries out,
To purchase Calm with wretched Vows and Pray'rs;
"Let them who freight the Ship be thus devout,—
I'm not concern'd in any of its Wares!" 10
May not one ask, if common-Sense will read,
Was ever Jest and Earnest more agreed?

6. "*I'm but a Passenger.*" Like the house comforted himself with the reflexion: celebrated Irishman, who in a burning "*I'm only a lodger.*"

III.

Nay but you see the Reason, 'tis replied,
Why he rejects the Bargaining of Pray'r :
His little Skiff will stem the raging Tide
With double *Pollux*, and with gentler Air.
"This is his Moral," say his Under-pullers :
"The Poor and Innocent are safe in Scullers."

IV.

Why, so they may be, if they coast along,
And shun the Winds that make "a Mast to moan!" 20
But here, according to the critic Throng,
Horace was in the Ship, tho' not his own.
Suppose a Sculler just contriv'd for him,
When the Ship sunk, would his "*Biremis*" swim ?

V.

Can you by any construing Pretence,—
If you suppose, as Commentators do,
Him in the Ship,—make tolerable Sense
Of his surviving all the sinking Crew?
With Winds so boist'rous, by what cunning Twist
Can his clear Stars and gentle Air resist ? 30

VI.

"The Gifts of Fortune *Horace* had resign'd,
"And poor and honest his just fancied Case :
"Nothing to do had he with 'stormy Wind,'
"Nor in 'Ægean Seas' to seek a Place.

16. *Double POLLUX.* "Geminus Pol- to Johnson is "a cock-boat; a boat in lux" or "Geminus Castor" means "the which there is but one rower." *Biremis* twins Castor and Pollux." *Scapha* is used by Horace in the same

18. *Scullers.* A "sculler" according sense.

“How is it likely then, that he should mean
“To paint himself in such an awkward Scene ?”

VII.

Why, but “*Tum me biremis*” must suppose,
By “*then*” escaping, that he sure was in’t ;
And “*feret*,” too, that comes into the close
In all the Books that we have here in Print.—
Both Words are wrong, tho’, notwithstanding that ;
“*Tum*” should be “*Cum*,” and “*feret*” be “*ferat*.⁴⁰”

VIII.

The Sense, or Moral, if you please, is this :
“Henceforth be Probity, tho’ poor, my Lot !
“The Love of Riches is but an Abyss
“Of dangerous Cares, that now concern me not.
“Caught in its Storms, let Avarice implore ;
“I thank my Stars, I’m rowing safe to Shore.”

VII.

“*Ludit HERBOSO pecus omne campo*
Cum tibi Nonæ redeunt DECEMBRES ;
Festus in PRATIS vacat otioso
Cum bove pagus ;

Inter audaces lupus errat agnos ;
Spargit agrestes tibi silva FRONDES ;
Gaudet INVISAM pepulisse fossor
Ter pede terram.

—*Lib. iii. Od. 18, vv. 9-16.*

All the cattle play upon the grassy plain, when the Nones of December to thee return; the festive village is at leisure in the meadows with the idle ox; the wolf wanders among the dauntless lambs; for thee the wood scatters small leaves; the digger rejoices to have beaten the hated ground in a triple dance."

[Byrom's criticism appears to me in itself just. But, inasmuch as wolves are not wont to promenade among the unfrightened lambs either in winter or in summer (some editors, to complete the picture of the happy family, read "*pardus*" for "*pagus*"), the entire description of rustic bliss during the December Faunalia may be treated as more or less imaginary. The conjecture "*inversam*" for "*invisam*" seems inept, if the conclusion is accepted that the last two lines of the Ode refer to the *tripodium*. Nobody would choose turned-up ground to dance upon.]

I.

WHENE'ER this *Horace* comes into one's Hand,
One meets with Words full hard to understand.
If one consult the Critics thereupon,
Some Places have a Note, some others none;
And, when they take interpreting Pains,
Sometimes the Difficulty still remains.

II.

To you that see, good Friends, where I am blind,
Let me propose a Case of either Kind :
Premising first,—for both relate to Weather,—
That Winter and December come together ;
The Romans, too, as far as I remember,
Have join'd together Winter and December.

10

III.

In Book the Third of *Horace*, Ode Eighteen,
"*Ad Faunum*," these two Sapphics here are seen :
" *Ludit HERBOSO pecus omne campo,*

*Cum tibi Nonæ redeunt DECEMBRES ;
Festus in PRATIS vacat otioso
Cum bove Pagus.*

*Inter audaces lupus errat AGNOS ;
Spargit agrestes tibi Silva FRONDES ;
Gaudet INVISAM pepulisse fossor
Ter pede terram.*"

20

Now, in *December*, if we reason close,
Are Fields poetically call'd "*herbose*?"
Is that the Month, tho' *Faunus* kept the Fold,
For "*daring Lambs*" to frisk about so *bold*?

IV.

"Leaves," I would add too ; but the learn'd *Dacier*
Has made this Point elaborately clear,
As one that artful *Horace* interweaves :
"The Trees in *Italy* then shed their Leaves ; 30
"And this the Poet's Artifice profound :
"The Trees themselves for *Faunus* strew'd the Ground."

V

It is, we'll say, a fine *Horatian* Flight ;
But is the Herbage,—are the Lambs, so right ?
Is there in all the Ode a single Thing
That makes the Winter differ from the Spring ?
Nones of December are indeed hibernal,
But all the rest is absolutely vernal.

VI.

"*Lenis incedis per APRICA rura*"—
Does this begin like Winter?—But *quid plura?* 40

27. *The learn'd DACIER.* André Dacier (1651-1722) (the celebrated husband of a more celebrated wife), author of *Traduc-* tion et Commentaires d' Horace, 10 vols., 1681-9.

Read how it all begins, goes on, or ends :
 Nothing but "*Nones*" is winterly, my Friends ;
 Neither in human nor in brutal Creatures
 One Trace observ'd of Winter's stormy Features.

VII.

May not there be, then, tho' the Critic make
 No Hesitation at it, a Mistake ?
 The Digger's Dancing, too, has somewhat spissy :
"Gaudet INVISAM terram pepulisse."
 "He in Revenge" (say Comments) "beats the Soil,
 Hated," because it gave him so much Toil.

50

VIII.

As oft the Diggers, whom we chance to meet,
 Turn up the Ground, and press it with their Feet,
Horace himself, perhaps we may admit,
 "INVERSAM terram," not "INVISAM" writ.
 But this at Present our Demand postpones :—
 Pray, solve the Doubt on these "*Decembrian Nones*" !

47. *Somewhat spissy.* Dense, difficult to disentangle (*spissus*).

VIII.

*"Ut tuto ab atris corpore viperis
 Dormirem et URISI.*

—*Lib. iii. Od. 4, vv. 17–18.*

How I could sleep with my body secured from black vipers and bears."

[Byrom absurdly proposes "*hircis*" for "*uris*." Why should he doubt the existence of bears in the Apulian hills? And were the goats beasts of prey?]

I.

HORACE, “an Infant” (here he interweaves
 In rambling Ode, where no Design coheres),
 “By fabled Stock-Doves cover’d up with Leaves,
 “Kept safe from black skinn’d Vipers, and from Bears,”—
 But, passing by the incoherent Ode,
 I ask the Critics where the “Bears” abode ?

II.

The Leaves indeed, that Stock-Doves could convey,
 Would be but poor Defence against the Snakes,
 And sleeping Boy be still an easy Prey
 To black Pervaders of the thorny Brakes ; 10
 The Bears, I doubt too, would have smelt him out,
 If there had been such Creatures thereabout !

III.

The Snakes were black ; the Bears, I guess, were white,
 (Or what the Vulgar commonly call *Bulls*)
 Bears had there been ; another Word is right
 That has escap’d the criticising Skulls,
 Who suffer Bears as quietly to pass,
 As if the Bard had been of Lapland Class.

2. *In rambling Ode, where no Design coheres.* Cf. ante, p. 518. This is by no means a profound criticism. The succession presented in this Ode of concrete illustrations of its general idea, viz., the favour shown by the Gods to mild wisdom—is in thorough keeping with the manner of ancient lyrical poetry, and in particular with that of Pindar, to whose traditional infant experiences Horace’s anecdote about his own transparently alludes.

14. (*Or what the Vulgar commonly call BULLS.*) “L . . d !” said my mother, “what is all this story about?” “A Cock and a Bull,” said Yorick ; “and one of the best of its kind I ever heard.”—TRISTRAM SHANDY.

18. *As if the Bard had been of Lapland class.* The tradition which regarded Lapland as the home of monsters, witches and all kinds of devilish needs no illustration ; Byrom refers to it himself in a passage of his *Diary (Remains*, ii. 236).

IV.

A Word, where Sense and Sound do so agree,
 That I shall spare to speak in its Defence,
 And leave Absurdity, so plain to see, 20
 With due Correction, to your own good Sense.
 'Tis this in short in these Horatian Verses :
 For "Bears" read "Goats": *pro "Ursis," lege "Hyrcis!"*

IX.

*"Romæ, principis urbium,
 Dignatur soboles inter AMABILES
 VATES PONERE ME CHOROS.*

—*Lib. iv. Od. 3, vv. 13-15*

*The children (inhabitants) of Rome, the queen of cities, deign to place
 me among the amiable band of poets."*

[Byrom proposes the reading *amabilis*; quite unnecessarily, though it is found in two *MSS.* The contemptuous tone of these verses is not creditable to the author's taste, but is accounted for by considerations previously suggested.]

I.

THIS is one Ode, and much the best of two,
 Fam'd above all for *Scaliger's* Ado.
 "I rather would have writ so good a Thing
 "Than reign," quoth he, "an Aragonian King."

2. SCALIGER'S Ado. "Omnes, inquam" ceteras vero, duas animadverte, quibus nè (*Horatii Odæ*) "tanta sunt venustatis, ut et Ambrosiam quidem aut nectar dulciora mihi, et aliis prudentioribus omnibus adeputem. Altera est, tertia quarti libri, merint spem talium studiorum. Inter Quem tu Melpomene, &c. [our Ode];

Had he been King, and Master of the Vote,
 I doubt, the Monarch would have chang'd his Note,
 And, loading Verses with an huge Renown,
 Would still have kept his *Aragonian* Crown.

II.

This Ode, howe'er, tho' short of such a Rout,
 He show'd some Judgment when he singled out. 10
 Compar'd with others, one is at a Stand
 To think how those should come from the same Hand.
 For, if they did, 'tis marvellous enough,
 That such a Muse with such a Breath should puff,—
 That such a delicate harmonious Muse
 Should catch the Clouds, or sink into the Stews.

III.

But Fame has sold them to us in a Lot,
 And all is *Horace*, whether his, or not.
 For his, or whose you will, then, let them pass ;
 What signifies it who the Author was ? 20

altera, nona ex tertio, Donec gratus eram,
&c., quarum similes malim a me compositas,
quam Pythionicarum multas Pindari,
et Nemeonicarum, quarum similes malim
composuisse, quam esse totius Tarraconensis
rex. Igitur tametsi tam magnifice de
Horatii carminibus sentio, tamen dabunt
ingenio nobilique pudori nostro veniam
studiosi sicubi etiam optavimus potiora.”
 J. C. SCALIGER, *Poetice, lib. vi. pp. 811-12* (ed. 1617).

16. *Catch the Clouds, or sink into the Stews.* Lose himself in obscurity, or sink into triviality. *De Arte Poeticâ*, vv. 229-30 :
 “*Migret in obscuras humili sermone tabernas,*
Aut, dum vitat humum, nubes et inania caplet.”
 18. *All is Horace, whether his or not.* This ultra-Bentleian scepticism is in itself pointless.

“Dunghill of *Ennius*,” as we are told
 By ancient Proverb, “might afford some Gold ;”
 And that’s the Case of what this *Horace* sung :
 Some Grains of Gold with Tinsel mix’d, and Dung.

IV.

We’ll say this Ode, allowing for the Age
 That *Horace* writ in, was a golden Page,—
 The Words well chosen, easy, free, and pat,
 The Lyric Claim so manag’d,—and all that ;—
 What I would note is, that no Critic yet,
 Of them, I mean, whose Notes my Eyes have met, 30
 Has seen a Blemish in this finish’d Piece,
 Outdone, they say, by neither Rome nor Greece.

V.

Yet there is one, which it is somewhat strange,
 That none of ‘em should see a Cause to change,
 But let a great Indelicacy stand,
 As if it came from *Horace’s* own Hand :
 To “*vatum choros*” join’d “*AMABILES*,”
 When, what he meant was “*lovely soboles*.
Meo periculo, Sirs, alter this :
 If Taste be in you, read “*amabilis*. ” 40

37. To “*the bands of Poets*” join’d.—B.

- 21-2. “*Dunghill of ENNIUS*,” as we are told
 By ancient Proverb, “might afford some gold.”
 “*Cum is aliquando Ennium in manu haberet, rogareturque quid faceret, respon-*
- dit se aurum colligere de stercore Enni.*”
 Ti. Claud. Donati *Vita P. Vergili Maron.*
 39. *Meo periculo.* Cf. the *Introductory Note* to these “*Critical Remarks*” on “*Pas-*
sages in Horace.”

VI.

If ye refuse, I have no more to say ;
 Keep to flat Print, and read it your own Way ;
 Let Fear to change a Vowel's Rote dispense
 With jingling sound, and unpoliter Sense !
 I don't expect that Critics, with their Skill,
 Will take the Hint,—but all true Poets will.
 Be it a Test, at Present, who has got
 The nicer Taste of liquid Verse, who not !

X.

*"Iracunda diem proferet Ilio
 Matronisque Phrygum classis Achillei ;
 Post certas hiemes uret ACHAICUS
 IGNIS Iliacas domos.*

—Lib. i. Od. 15, vv. 33–6.

*The enraged fleet of Achilles shall bring on Troy and Trojan matrons
 the day, when, after a certain number of winters, GRECIAN FIRE shall
 consume Trojan houses."*

[Byrom, to correct the metre, proposes "lignis" for "ignis," altering "Achaicus" into "Achaicis," to match. The conjecture, though ingenious, is inadmissible, since "ligna" could hardly be used for "torches." The readings "Pergameas," "barbaricas," and "Dardanias" have been suggested for "Iliacas"; and Byrom would have been pleased by a verdict quoted from the *Rheinische Museum* by Keller and Holder (who adopt "Pergameas"): "Aut tota stropha Horatio abjudicanda est, aut vox "Iliacas" videtur esse corrigenda."]

I.

*SPONDÆO a stabili, si numeros modo
 Observare velis, incipit ultimus
 Versus; non poterunt Carminis et pedem
 Leges ferre Trochaicum.*

II.

*Castigant Pueros Archididascali,
Pro longâ fuerit syllaba si brevis ;
Et credunt Critici dicere Horatium :
“ Ignis Iliacas domos ? ”*

III.

*Sunt qui, cum penitus sensus abest metro,
Pugnant, ac vitium mille modis legunt ;
Quos vocum ratio dissona plurimos
Fixis Mentibus ingerit.*

10

IV.

*Verum, Carminibus cum sua Quantitas
Desit, quam Ratio metrica postulat,
Num peccare velit tam pueriliter
Romanæ fidicen lyrae ?*

V.

*Si demum parilis culpa notabitur
Vatum, quam pariter corrigere est nefas,
Defendat numerus ; Tu tamen interim
Verum restituas metrum !*

20

VI.

*Voci quæ legitur litera defuit
Princeps, quam soliti pingere forsitan
Haud scripsere. Legas : “ uret Achaicis
Lignis Iliacas domos.”*

5. *Castigant pueros.* Who, in this Teutonic country, are not privileged to proffer the Slav plea : “ *Nos Pôloni non cûramus quantitatem syllabarum.* ”

22. *Soliti pingere.* Being accustomed to paint it in. But it is not usual in *MSS.* to colour or illuminate the first letter of the last line of a stanza.

XI.

“—*Quis neget arduis
 Pronos relabi posse rivos
 Montibus, et Tiberim reverti;*
*Cum tu coemptos undique NOBILES
 Libros Panæti, Socraticam et domum
 MUTARE loricis Iberis,
 Pollicitus meliora, tendis.*

—*Lib. i. Od. 29, vv. 10-16.*

Who can now deny the possibility of rapid rivers flowing back again to the high mountains, and of the Tiber's return, when thou aimest at exchanging the noble books of Panætius, purchased in all quarters, and the household of Socrates, for Iberian coats of mail, after having promised better things ? ”

[Byrom proposes to read :

*Cum tu coemptos undique NOBILIS
 Libros Panæti, Socraticam UT domum
 TUTERE loricis Iberis,
 Pollicitus meliora, VENDIS.*

(Since thou sellest the books of the noble Panætius, that thou mayest defend the household of Socrates with Iberian coats of mail, after having afforded more hopeful promises.))

The perversity of this elaborate “correction” needs no demonstration. Lines 3 and 4 of the first stanza are nonsensical, and the second stanza is little better. The Latinity of our author is the reverse of exquisite, and his metrification imperfect, especially for one who so rigorously insists on true quantities (see the preceding piece.)]

I.

*NON esse dices, credo, poeticum
 Hoc “tendis”; et quo tenderet Iccius?
 “Mutare libros?” At vicissim
 Non alios habuisse fertur.*

II.

*"Mutare," rursus, "Socraticam domum?"
Hæc velle Sectam linquere te docent.*

*At Secta loricas Iberas
Nulla novo dederat Clienti.*

III.

*Dum vox "coëmptos," intuitu mero,
Et quæ sequuntur verba, prioribus
Collata, suadent hic legendum :
"Pollicitus meliora, vendis."*

10

IV.

*Libros coëmptos vendidit Iccius
Miles futurus, virque Scientiæ
"Quam nolit hic libris tueri,"
Flaccus ait joculans, " sed armis."*

V.

*Tam discrepantis militiæ ducem
Ironiarum plena redarguit
Odé; sed extremum videtur
Multa manus vitiasse carmen.*

20

VI.

*Sic ipsa Flacci pinxerat, autumo,
Incustum amicum : " Quis neget arduis
Pronos relabi posse rivos
Montibus, et Tiberim reverti ;*

6. *Hæc velle Sectam linquere te docent.* They tell you this signifies leaving the sect, or school.

14. *Virque Scientiæ.* A man of Science(!)

18. *Ironiarum plena.* This is probably

a true characterisation of the Ode, which has been absurdly supposed to be intended to convey serious reproof.

21. *Ipsa Flacci. Sc. manus.*

VII.

*Cum tu coemptos undique nobilis
 Libros Panætî, Socraticam ut domum
 Tutere loricis Iberis,
 Pollicitus meliora, vendis ?”*

26 *Panætî*. The Rhodian Stoic Panætius, the tutor of Scipio Africanus the Elder and of Lælius.

XII.

*“Eheu ! fugaces, Postume, Postume,
 Labuntur anni ; nec pietas moram
 Rugin et instanti senectæ
 Afferet indomitæque morti ;
 Non, si TRECENIS quotquot eunt dies,
 Amice, places illacrimabilem
 Plutona tauris.*

—*Lib. ii. Od. 14, vv. 1-7.*

Alas ! Postumus, Postumus ! The fleeting years slide onward ; nor will piety cause any delay to wrinkles, and advancing old age, and unconquerable death. You appease not, my friend, the pitiless Pluto with three hundred bulls on each passing day.” [I have hesitated to offer Thackeray’s re-casting of this stanza as an alternative version.]

[Byrom proposes “tercentum” for “trecenis.” By this change the poet’s licence is considerably reduced, and he is made to say that, if Postumus sacrifices *one bull* every morning for three hundred days together, he will not appease Pluto.]

I.

*“EHEU ! fugaces, Postume, Postume,
 “Labuntur anni ; nec pietas moram
 “Rugin, et instanti Senectæ
 “Afferet, indomitæque morti ;*

II.

*“Non si TRECENIS, quotquot eunt dies,
“Amice, places illachrymabilem
“Plutona tauris,”—Hem! “trecenis?”
Nolumus hanc posuisse vocem,*

III.

*Foxleie, Flaccum ;—“quotquot eunt dies,
Tauris trecenis illachrymabilem
Placare divum ?” immanis, ipso
Intuitu, numerus patescit.*

10

IV.

*Quovis trecenos lumine, Postumum
Mactare tauros si benè finxerit
Vates, quot exactos, memento,
Myriadas feriat per annos !*

V.

*Hæc inter artes norma poeticas,
“Famam sequi, vel convenientiam,”
Præscripta Flacco, quam trecenis
Immodicè violata tauris !*

20

10. *Tauris trecentis.—A and B.*

9. *Foxleie.* As to Thomas Foxley, who was elected Fellow of the Collegiate Church at Manchester in 1751 (hence, I presume, “amplis ingenio viris Immistus; see ll. 45–6), and was afterwards Rector of St. Mary’s, Manchester, see *Remains*, i. 515 note, and *The Fellows of the Collegiate Church of Manchester*, by Canon Raines, edited by Dr. F. Renaud (*Chetham Society’s Publications*, vol. xxiii. *New Series*, Part II.) pp. 243–7, where he is described as “a man of unfeigned piety, and in the

discharge of the social duties of life a most worthy example.” He died in 1761.

10. *Trecenis.* Both A and B have *trecensis*, which is the reading of some of the Horatian MSS.

11–12. *Ipsa Intuitu.* At the first glance. Cf. in the preceding piece, l. 9: “*Intuitu mero.*”

17–18. *Hæc inter artes norma, &c. De Arte Poët., v. 119:*

“*Aut famam sequere aut sibi convenientia finge.*”

VI.

*Vult quando "centum pocula sospitis,"
Codex, "Amici," tum sibi sappicum
Quid carmen exposcat volutans,
Te, statuo, repetente : "Cantum."*

VII.

*Idem in "trecenis" hæreo, suspicor ;
Et non jocantem simplicius velim
Dixisse vatem (namque dici
Simplicius potuit), quod urguet.*

VIII.

*Quod, nempe, mors et regibus imminet
Æquè ac colonis : Mors neque Postumo
Vitanda "TERCENTUM" immolando,
Lux quoties nitet orta, tauros.*

30

IX.

*Ni fallor, omnis victima Postumi
Duntaxat unum quoque die bovem
Mactata Plutoni poposcit,
Dum valuit manus ipsa Flacci,*

X.

*Qui scripsit, aut qui "scribere debuit,"
(Tu sicut inquis carmine nupero,
Quod musa pugnax dum refellit,
Hoc penitus tibi subdit ausum) :*

40

21. *Vult quando, &c.* See above, the *Dialogue on Od.* iii. 8, 13-14.

33. *Victima.* Offering.

38. *Carmine nupero.* I know nothing about this poem, and can only guess at

the insinuation which Byrom's muse repelled. The distinction between "qui scripsit" and "qui scribere debuit" is an offensive one to critics of the Bentleian school.

XI.

“*Non si . . . quotquot eunt dies,*
“*Amice, places illachrymabilem*
“*Plutona tauris,*”——*quos opinor*
Sic melius numerâsse carmen.

XII.

Si sana vox sit, ne moveas loco ;
Si non sit amplis ingenio viris
Immiste, dic quânam sodales
(Me tacito) repleant Hiatum ?

XIII.

“——*Thure placaris et hornâ*
Frûge Lares AVIDÂQUE PORCÂ.

—*Lib. iii. Od. 23, vv. 3-4.*

And thou shalt have appeased the household Gods, by an offering of frankincense, and fruits of this year's growth, and a greedy swine."

[Byrom's emendation “*avidasque Parcas*” must be allowed to be a conjecture ingenious in itself, although the epithet *avidæ* but indifferently suits the Parcæ. Neither is the alteration uncalled for,—unless it be contended that a pig would have been an ordinary sacrifice to the Lares; for it is unfair to translate “*porca*” “*a great fat swine;*” and Maclean, I see, more delicately renders it “*a sucking-pig*”. But, though the Lares were allowed their share of the family meal, they seem to have preferred its more ornamental adjuncts to its *pièces de resistance*. So the *Lar Familiaris*, who prologises to the *Aulularia* of Plautus. The point of the Ode is, of course, a protest against the supposition that the Gods judge offerings by their value or rarity.]

I.

*QUÆ mens sit hujus carminis, obsecro,
Species ! Monenda est rustica Phidyle
Vel thure, vel fructu, vel herbâ
Ruricolas placuisse Divis.*

II.

*Si pura mens sit, si manus innocens,
Placare possint absque cruoribus.—
Primumque et extremum poëtæ
Quis negat hoc voluisse versum ?*

III.

*Vix ergo Porcam velle putaveris,
Urbane, Flaccum frugibus additam ;
Nam thura, nam fruges, et omnem
Sordida Sus vitiavit herbam.*

10

IV.

*Quid “parva” laudat Numina, munera,
Si Porca tandem victima poscitur ?
Quid prosit “immunis manusve
“Farve pium, saliensque mica” ?*

V.

*Aut omnis ut res hæreat, indica,
Aut vile mendum corrige protinus !
Non multa mutabis legendo :
“Fruge Lares, avidasque Parcas.”*

20

10 *Urbane.* I do not know who is intended under this address, unless Byrom's Latin verse was designed for insertion in

the *Gentleman's Magazine*, where I have been unable to trace it.

THE FOREGOING CRITICISM, IN ENGLISH VERSE.

I.

THE whole Design of this Horatian Strain
 Is so exceeding obvious and plain,
 That one would wonder how correcting Eyes
 Could overlook a Blot of such a Size
 As "*avidâque Porcâ*," when the Line,
 So read, quite ruins *Horace's* Design.

II.

He, as the Verse begins, and as it ends,
 This Point to rustic *Phydile* commands :
 That Innocence to Gifts the Gods prefer,
 And frugal Off'rings would suffice from her ; 10
 That want of Victims was in her no Fault ;
 She might present Fruit, Incense, Cake, and Salt.

III.

With what Connexion could he add to these
 A "*greedy Swine*" in order to appease
 Those very Deities, whom Ode is meant
 To paint with cheap and bloodless Gifts content,
 From pious Hands receiv'd, tho' e'er so small ?
 But "*avidâque Porcâ*" spoils it all.

IV.

What Moral meant, if they requir'd, in fine,
 From rustic *Phidyle*, a great fat Swine ? 20
 Why little Gods and little Matters nam'd,
 If such a Sacrifice as this was claim'd ?
 "*Porcâ*" is wrong, Sirs, whether we regard
 The Gods, the Countrywoman, or the Bard.

V.

What must be done in such a Case as this?
 One must amend, tho' one should do't amiss.
 I'll tell you the Correction, frank and free,
 That upon reading first occurr'd to me,
 And seem'd to suit the Bard's Intention better,
 With small Mutation of the printed Letter.

30

VI.

Tho' "*avidâque Porcâ*" runs along
 With Verb, and Case, and Measure of the Song,
 Yet, if the Poet is to be renown'd
 For something more than mere Italian Sound,—
 For Life and Sense, as well as Shell and Carcass,
 Read : "*Frûge Lares, avidasque Parcas.*"

XIV.

*"Vile POTABIS modicis Sabinum
 Cantharis.*

—*Lib. i. Od. 20, vv. 1-2.*

Thou shalt drink weak Sabine wine in little cups."

[Byrom proposes "*potabo*" for "*potabis*." His quarrel with the text, although he ingeniously improves his case by finding fault with the excess of sibilants in vv. 1-2 of the Ode, is, however, unnecessary. The Delphin edition seems to come near to the true explanation of "*tu bubes*" in v. 10 without exactly hitting it. Here we read in the margin "*Tu domi potabis Cæcum*," &c.; and in the note : "*Tu quidem apud te bubes vina ejusmodi haud vulgaria, non ita vero apud me*"; Pliny being quoted to the effect that Mæcenas was so celebrated a connoisseur of wines that certain excellent sorts were called *Mæcenatia*. Horace, I suppose, did not mean so much to say "you will drink at home," as "you

may drink if you choose, but you will not drink in my humble abode." Maclean compares *Od. I. 7, 1*: "laudabunt alii." Cod. Vossius, at the risk of a slip in metrification, reads "bibis." The reading proposed by Byrom spoils the point of the Ode; and rather than adopt it, I would read *tum* for *tu*, and suppose *Mæcenas* to have arranged matters like the good King Frederick William III. of Prussia, who, when he lunched with country clergymen, brought his wine with him.]

I.

H AVE ye no Scruple, Sirs, when ye rehearse
This hissing Kind of an Horatian Verse?
To me, I own, at Sight of triple "is,"
Suspicion said that something was amiss;
And, when one reads the triple Sapphic thro',
'Tis plain that what Suspicion said was true.

II.

Critics, as Custom goes, if one shall bring
The plainest Reason for the plainest Thing,
Will stick to Horace, as he sticks to Print,
And say, sometimes, that there is Nothing in't.—
Or, here, Mistake perhaps, may be my Lot;
Now, tell me, Neighbours, if 'tis so or not?

IO

III.

This Ode, or (since apparently Mishap
Has lost the true Beginning of it) Scrap,
Informs *Mæcenas* that poor Sabine Wine
Shall be his Drink, in Horace's Design,—
Wine which the Poet had incask'd, the Day
That People shouted for the Knight away.

13. *Mishap has lost the true Beginning.* There is no reason, so far as I am aware, for assenting to this supposition.

IV.

This is the first Thing that it says. The next,
Without one Word of intervening Text,
Says, he shall drink (and in poetic Shape
Wine is describ'd) the very richest Grape :
“My Cups Falernian Vintage, Formian Hill,”
(Is all that follows after) “never fill.”

20

V.

These, and these only, in the printed Code,
Are the two Periods of this pygmy Ode ;
And how they stand in Contradiction flat,
Whoe'er can construe Latin must see that !
The Critics saw it, but forsook their Sight,
And set their Wits at work, to make it right.

30

VI.

How they have done it, such as have a Mind
To know their Fetches, if they look, may find,
And smile thereat. One Ounce, that but coheres,
Of Mother Wit, is worth a Pound of theirs ;
Who having, by their Dint of Learning, seen
That Moon is Cheese, soon prove it to be green.

VII.

'Twill be enough to give ye just a Taste,
From Delphin here, of criticising Haste :
“Mæcenas, setting on some Journey out,
“Sent Horace word, before he took his Rout,—

40

32. *Fetches. Tricks.*

39. MÆCENAS, &c. “Profecturus erat
Mæcenas seu in Apuliam (*ut vult Cruquius*
ex Divæ codice, quod idem notat Lubinus)
seu quovis alio: antea vero se Horatio pro
summâ inter eos familiaritate convivam fore significarat. *Hac Ode rescribit Horatio*
Mæcenati, gratum id sibi quidem, ut
pro suâ tenuitate tenue fore convivium,
conæque caput ex more proponot Sabinum
vinum, ut eruditè monet Theod. Marciil.” Note in the Delphin Horace (5th ed. 1711).

"As *Cruquius*, *Lubin*, *Codex* too pretend,—
"That he would sup with his assured Friend.

VIII.

"Horace writes back——and this, it seems, the Ode :—
" 'Tis mighty kind to take me in your Road ;
" But you must be content with slender Fare,
" Such as my poor Tenuity can spare :
" *Vile potabis*,——Sabine wine the best——
" As learnedly *Theod. Marcil.* has guess'd."

IX.

So far, so good.—But why should Horace, slap,
Say : " You shall drink the Wines of richest Tap ? " 50
" That is," quoth Margin of the Delphin Tome,
" *Domi potabis*'——'you shall drink at Home ;'
'*Hæc vina quidem bibes apud te*',
Says Note ; ' *non ita vero apud me*.' "

X.

"*Certè*," it adds, "as Pliny understood,
"The Knight's own Wine was exquisitely good ;"—
Good, to be sure, tho' Pliny had been dumb ;
But how does all that has been said o'ercome
The Contradiction ?——Why, with this Assistance :
'Tis plain they supp'd together——at a Distance ! 60

41. *Cruquius*. Jac. Crucquius' edition of Horace was first printed at Antwerp in 1578. It contained a number of scholia previously unused, and which were afterwards cited as *Scholiasta Crucquianus*. A copy of the 1611 edition of this work is in Byrom's Library.

Ib. Lubin. Eilhard Lubin's *Paraphrasis Horatii* appeared at Frankfort in 1612.

Ib. Codex. See the note cited above.

48. THEOD. MARCIL. Theodore Marcil (1548-1617), a Dutchman by birth, professor in the Collège Royal at Paris.

55. *Pliny*. In his *Nat. Hist.*, lib. xiv. cap. 6, as cited in the Delphin Horace, Pliny mentions the so-called "Mæcenatian" wines.

XI.

One easy Hint, without such awkward Stirs,
Dissolves at once the Difficulty, Sirs :
Let Horace drink himself of his own *Vinum* :
“*Vile POTABO modicis Sabinum*
“*Cantharis*, and *Mæcenas* do so too ;—
“*Tu bibes Cæcubum* ;” and all is true.

XII.

No verbal Hissing spoils poetic Grace,
Nor Contradiction stares ye in the Face ;
But Verse-Intention, without further Tours :
“ I'll drink my Wine, *Mæcenas*, and you yours.”
Should not all Judges of Horatian Letter
Or take this Reading, or propose a better ?

70

69. *Tours.* *Détours*, roundabout ways of expression.

LINES ON A CONTESTED ELECTION TO A
FELLOWSHIP OF THE MANCHESTER
COLLEGIATE CHURCH.

[The *MS.* of the following poem, which had for a time strayed from the possession of the Feoffees of the Chetham Library, returned to it not long since, and was re-discovered by Mr. W. T. Browne, the House Governor of Chetham's Hospital, to whom I am sincerely obliged for directing my attention to these characteristic lines. They are written with extreme neatness on a small quarto sheet; and both the handwriting (which bears the marks of age) and the style leave no doubt as to the correctness of the conjecture "Dr. Byrom," pencilled at the foot of the *MS.*]

The occasion of these lines I conclude to have been the election to the Fellowship of the Collegiate Church vacated by the death of Mr. John Crouchley, on June 1st, 1760. They must have been written before July 17th, the date of the death of Mr. Moss, who in l. 31 is mentioned as alive. The vacancy was filled on July 28th, 1760, by the election of Mr. John Clayton, who had been appointed chaplain of the church in March, 1740, but had been suspended in 1745 for his seditious conduct during the Young Pretender's visit to Manchester, when he had offered up prayers for the deposed Royal Family in the Collegiate Church, and had, in the streets of Salford, on his knees invoked a Divine blessing upon the Prince. Inasmuch as Clayton was not reinstated in his chaplaincy till after the Act of Indemnity of 1746, he might in 1760 be roughly described as "a Chaplain serving in his eighteenth year" (l. 10). Of this personage, who had much in common with Byrom in his literary tastes as well as in his religious and political opinions, who was "a sound divine, an accurate scholar, and a hard-working parish priest," and of whom there is not a little to tell in connexion with an interesting chapter of the religious history of his age, see a full account, with portrait and picture of his school at the corner of Gravel Lane, Greengate, Salford, in Canon Raines' *Fellows of the*

Collegiate Church of Manchester, edited for the Chetham Society by Dr. Renaud, Part ii. (1891), pp. 248–266. He died in 1773 and is buried with other members of his family in the Derby Chapel of the Cathedral; a marble monument with an affectionate inscription was erected to him by his scholars in the vestibule of the choir.

Byrom's lines appear to have been intended, in a wise spirit which does him great credit, to moderate the zeal of Clayton's supporters, with whom he was as a matter of course entirely in sympathy.]

I.

SIRS, I've no Taste for a contesting Pother
 The Church on one Side, and the Town o' th' other.
 If any Meeting on one Side could bring
 Both to agree, it were another Thing ;
 But I'm afraid that Zeal, in a One-sider,
 Will only tend to make the Diff'rence wider.

II.

You would have CLAYTON carry this Election.
 So would I too, if there be no Objection,—
 None strong enough, in Justice, to cashier
 A Chaplain serving in his eighteenth year,
 Who should succeed, if “*cæteris*” be “*paribus*”
 By all the Laws of “*Propria quæ maribus.*”

10

III.

If any Doubts arise about the Matter
 Apply Solution, but without a Clatter !
 Urge all the Reasons that you have, but still
 With proper Temper and down-right Good-will !
 For Pow'r to think, as far as I can see,
 Belongs to all, as well as you and me.

10. *A Chaplain serving in his eighteenth year.* See *Introductory Note.* MARIBUS.” By all the laws of grammar, which are the laws of logic.

12. *By all the Laws of “PROPRIA QUÆ*

IV.

"They don't think right, if they reject his Claim."—
That may be true ; but Choice is still the same,
When once 'tis past,—the same to all Intent,
Tho' they themselves should happen to repent.
Since what is vacant is a Fellow's Stall,
The Fellows must supply it, after all.

20

V.

As to their Taste,—if one may here disclose
The Secrets, Sirs, which ev'ry Body knows :
Put ASHTON heartily desirous down
To serve the Church, and to oblige the Town ;
And hope that him two Fellows, whom he chose,
Will not be fond of Reasons to oppose.

30

VI.

MOSS is for PARKER, as you all agree ;
I tell you this, because you told it me.

20, 21. *Choice is still the same**When once 'tis past.*

The election will stand good when it has been made.

27. ASHTON. Richard Assheton, who was elected a Chaplain of the Collegiate Church in 1720, and on the death of his father, a Fellow in 1731, was incumbent of Salford Chapel, and died in 1764. His controversies with the Warden (afterwards Bishop) Peploe belong to his earlier years. His nephew and namesake succeeded Clayton in his Chaplaincy. (See *The Fellows of the Collegiate Church, u.s., pp. 216–225;* and cf. *ib.*, 267–275.) As he was an ardent Jacobite, his vote and influence might be reckoned on by Clayton.

29. *Two Fellows, whom he chose.* One of these no doubt was Charles Downes, who had been curate of Salford Chapel under Assheton, and was elected Fellow of the Collegiate Church in the place of Thomas Moss, nine days after the death of the latter, on July 26th, 1760 (see *The Fellows of the Collegiate Church, u.s., p. 267.*)

31. *Moss is for PARKER.* Naturally, Thomas Moss, member of an old Manchester and Jacobite family, who had himself been elected Fellow of the Collegiate Church in 1747, was brother-in-law to John Parker. (Cf. *The Fellows of the Collegiate Church, u.s., pp. 238–242.*) The latter was the son of John Parker, of Breightmet Hall, near Bury,

But, whether Youth, with an ingenuous Fame,
Will change for Heats of a contested Claim -
An Independence likely to do well,—
That I don't know ; because you did not tell.

VII.

FOXLEY is disengag'd, entirely free
But to the right, that right appears to be.
Your Jealousy supposes that the Two
Have laid their Scheme ;— perhaps, it is not true.
Do not proceed, as if the Town or Church
Were really hurt by an imagin'd Lurch !

40

VIII.

Perhaps both FOXLEY, in this Case, and MOSS
Really and honestly are at a Loss ;
Have certain Matters fairly to discuss
Not quite so proper to be told to us.
“ Why can't they tell 'em ? ”—Why, perhaps they may ;
But 'tis their Time that you and I must stay.

IX.

Your End, methinks, is sooner brought about
By friendly Force, by Reason, than by Rout,
On such an offer'd Season to begin
And bring the ancient, constant Custom in ;

50

37. FOXLEY is disengag'd. Thomas Foxley, whose family was connected by marriage with the Byrons of Kersal Cell, was elected a Fellow of Manchester College in March, 1751, and was afterwards presented to the Rectory of St. Mary's in Manchester. Hедied October 20th, 1761. (See *The Fellows of the Collegiate Church, u.s.,* pp. 243-7.) Byrom addressed to him one of his Latin poems (*infra*).
- Ib. *Entirely free*
But to the right.
Without any obligations, except that of taking the right course.
50. *Than by Rout.* Than by setting up an agitation, creating a disturbance.
51. *On such an offer'd Season to begin.* On an occasion which offers such an opportunity of beginning.

For, till of Late, the Chaplains (as they tell us)
From the Foundation have been chosen Fellows.

X.

If they regard experienc'd ASHTON'S Voice,
As GRIFFITH was their own applauded Choice,
Good-natur'd Warden, Fellows all agreed,
Chaplains that do their Duty to succeed,
The People to be pleas'd, and Peace ensue.—
This I conceive to be the Point in View.

60

53. *Till of Late.* The last election had been that of John Crouchley, who, through the interest of Mr. Moss and the goodwill of the Warden, had been chosen in the place of Henry Brooke, deceased, although he held no position beyond that of Perpetual Curate of Newton Heath (see *The Fellows of the Collegiate Church, u.s.*, pp. 247-8).

56. GRIFFITH was their own applauded Choice. This can only refer to the election of Maurice Griffith to a chaplaincy of the Collegiate Church, as he was not chosen Fellow till 1765, on the death of Richard Clowes. (See *The Fellows of the Collegiate Church, u.s.*, p. 284).

57. Good-natur'd Warden. This was Samuel Peploe the younger, son of Samuel Peploe, Warden of the Collegiate

Church and Bishop of Chester. He held the Wardenship, to which he was appointed on its (practically enforced) resignation by his father the Bishop, from 1738 to 1781. During the earlier year of his wardenship he resided little in Manchester, being like his father quite out of sympathy with the Chapter clergy; but after the Rebellion of 1745 he "appears gradually to have co-operated with the clergy in promoting the welfare of the extensive parish." (See the late Canon Raines' *Rectors of Manchester and Wardens of the Collegiate Church, printed for the Chetham Society, Part ii. (1885)*, pp. 166-171).

59, 60. All agreed,

Chaplains that do their duty to succeed.

All being agreed that chaplains who do their duty should succeed.

EPITAPH ON WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM.

[The *Christian Magazine, or A Treasury of Divine Knowledge*, for June, 1762, contains a biographical article on William of Wykeham, founded on Bishop Lowth's *Life*. In this article (p. 252) is cited the following inscription on William of Wykeham's monument in his oratory at Winchester :

“ *Wilhelmus dictus Wykeham jacet hic nece victus
Istius ecclesie praesul, reparavit eamque.
Largus erat dapifer; probat hoc cum divite pauper.
Consiliis pariter regni fuerat bene dexter.
Hunc docet esse pium fundatio Collegiorum:
Oxonie primum stat, Wintoniaeque secundum.
Jugiter oretis, tumulum quicunque videtis:
Pro tantis meritis ut sit sibi vita perennis.* ”

And the following “editorial” note is appended : “ We shall be obliged to any of our correspondents who will favour us with a poetical translation of this epitaph.”

A copy of this number of the *Christian Magazine*, formerly in the library of the late Mr. Crossley, late President of the Chetham Society, at the sale of his books passed into the hands of Mr. W. Wiper of Manchester, who was good enough to show it to me. On the cover of this copy are written the words “ Miss Byrom.” Mr. Wiper at the same time showed me a copy of the same *Magazine* for July, 1762, likewise purchased at the sale of Mr. Crossley’s Library, and likewise bearing Miss Byrom’s name on the cover. In this number appear the English verses of the text, with the signature “ N. M.”

The evidence of Byrom’s authorship, sufficient in itself, is corroborated by the following letter—or draft of a letter—written on one side of a leaf of *MS.* enclosed in the copy of the *Christian Magazine* for July, 1762, lent to me by Mr. Wiper. The draft contains various corrections and interlineations, which it seems unnecessary here to reproduce :

To the Editor of the Christian Magazine, &c.

"Upon reading the "Life of William of Wykeham" in your present Magazine, the Latin Epitaph subjoin'd appeared to be as good a Compendium of it as could well be expected in the Compass of Half a Dozen Lines; for the two last related only to a Prayer which, if it did the Deceased Diocesan no Good, did, as one may hope, to his surviving Friends as little Harm.

"It is a Pity, indeed, that the Fancy of introducing Rime into a Language which it does not suit with, should have then prevail'd to such a Degree as the Epitaph exhibits; but Ages have their whims; and the present, if one may judge from some of its late Productions, is going to prostitute its Ingenuity to as ridiculous an Extreme.

"The Fancy now is to push out Reflexions and Criticisms upon English Poetry; and from some of its most valuable Branches to banish Rime, which, when rightly manag'd, is the native ornament of every one of them, excepting the Theatrical, to which the sarcastical Definition of "Prose run mad," and the real experience of Rime's unfitness for it secures an undisputed Prerogative.

"Presuming that your Request of a poetical Translation, from any of your Correspondents, is rather meant of Rime, and does not exclude any of your Realms, I have sent you such as occur'd upon perusal of the Latin, which, however monkish, is adapted to the plain and simple Purpose of an Epitaph better than any tedious or fulsome Flattery, tho' more poetical, would have been on such an Occasion.

"It is certainly right in you to give in English whatever you may insert in any other Language; but, as you have a right to select the Contributions that you most approve of, if this should happen to be superfluous, the acknowledgment only of its Receipt will be sufficient.

"Yours, N. M."

It needs no reference to his controversy with Roger Comberbach to identify John Byrom with "N. M." (On the *MS.* draft of the letter appear the mysterious letters "Mr. An-Annon.") On the reverse of the page containing this letter, however, are written in the same elderly hand, the English Translation of the Latin epitaph printed in my text, and the following lines, of which I do not pretend to understand the

drift, and as to which I can only say that, while they *may* be Byrom's, they are, I trust, somebody else's.

On the other hand the "retort" addressed to the Quakers, which I have reprinted separately, seems to me to be undoubtedly a production of our author's. It is written across the same page as is the following doggrel :

" But good or bad, as the same Spirit still
 Seems to have guided now your present Quill
 To write these Pages as did those before [*sic*]
 Which I dislik'd—why bring me any more ?
 The same Dislike why force me to renew,
 And give offence unwillingly to you
 And them whose Sentiments are like your own,—
 Free to ~~prefer~~
^{adopt} them, and leave mine alone ?
 Which it is no great pleasure to maintain,
 But where they give no other Person Pain.
 By giving any one a fruitless Pain.

That which appears most excellent to me
 In certain Books, wherein we both agree,
 And shows, I think, their most peculiar Merit,
 Is that uniting, harmonising Spirit,
 That Tendency to heal the various Strife
 Amongst the Candidates for Love and Life,
 Which these good Writings do so well set forth
 As much enhances their intrinsic Worth,
 And sets the Truth for which the Authors write
 In such a just and amiable Light,
 As best excites the most repugnant Will
 To choose the Good, and to reject the Ill."

The frontispiece of Bishop Lowth's *Life of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester* (2nd ed., 1749), is a representation of his tomb in Winchester Cathedral, of which the text (p. 304) gives the following description : " Tho' the other ornaments of his Oratory are destroyed, yet his monument remains there entire and unhurt to this day. It is of white marble, of very elegant workmanship, considering the time, with his effigies in his pontifical robes lying along upon it; and on a plate of brass, running round the edge to the upper table of it, is the following inscription in Latin verse, of the style of that age."]

HERE William lies, of Wykeham by Surname,
This Church's Bishop, who repair'd its Frame.
How great in Bounty, rich and poor depose ;
How wise in Council, all the Kingdom knows ;
By founded Colleges his pious Breast
Oxford and Winchester will both attest.
Pray for such Worth, ye who behold his Tomb,
And wish Eternal Life to be its Doom !

1. *Of Wykeham by Surname.* Both the form "Wykeham" and that "of Wykeham" were used by the Bishop, but the latter more usually. As to the question whether his name was a patronymic, or derived from that of his birthplace, Wykeham in Hampshire, see *Lowth*, pp. 3 *seqq.* As to the supposition that his family-name was Perot, see *ib.*, p. 324.

2. *Who repair'd its Frame.* The rebuilding of Winchester Cathedral from the Tower westward was commenced by the Bishop in 1394. "This great pile took up about ten years in erecting, and was but just finished when the Bishop died. He had provided in his will for the entire completion of his design by his executors in case of his death, and allotted 2,500 marks for what then remained to be done, besides 500 marks for the glass windows : this was about a year and a half before it

was finished ; by which some sort of estimate may be made of the whole expense." (*Lowth*, p. 227).

3. *How great a Bounty.* See, in particular, his Will, *Lowth*, pp. 290 *seqq.*

Ib. How great in Council. As Chancellor till his dismissal in 1371 ; and as a member of the Council in 1376, during the ascendancy of the Good Parliament.

6. *Oxford and Winchester.* The charter of Foundation of St. Mary's College of Winchester in Oxford, commonly called New College, was published by William of Wykeham, on June 30th 1379 (*Lowth*, p. 186) ; the charter of Foundation of St. Mary's College of Winchester bears date October 20th, 1382 (*ib.*, p. 195). But the preparatory establishments at both places seem to have been set on foot by him as early as 1373 (*ib.*, p. 184).

PLURAL AND SINGULAR.

[These lines, as shown in the Introductory Note to the preceding piece, cannot be ascribed to Byrom with absolute certainty. But the internal evidence in favour of his authorship is scarcely to be resisted. Although quite superior to mere denominational prejudice, and from some points of view in sympathy with the Quakers, Byrom had reasons for bearing a grudge against their power of holding their own (see *Remains*, ii. 64 *seqq.*, and cf. *ib.*, 221 note), while anything like the appearance of sectarianism or self-assertiveness was distasteful to his nature.]

“WE are the Men,” is the contentious Cry.
 Now, give the Quakers and each Sect the Lie:
 With any Person of a plural Clan
 Prefer your Singular: “I am the Man.”

4. *I am the Man.* See *1st Epistle to Timothy*, ii. 5 (Authorised Version): “For there is one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus.”

AN ANSWER TO THE FOLLOWING LETTER,

REQUESTING THE AUTHOR'S SOLUTION OF A REBUS, COMMONLY
 ASCRIBED TO LORD CHESTERFIELD.

“Good Mr. DIAPHANUS,

I have a very great Opinion of your Ingenuity, and I know you love to employ it. If you'll not think the asking the Favour to unravel the following Rebus too great an Impertinence, you will by the Discovery very much oblige

Your Friend,

Chester,

And most obedient Servant,

March, 22, 1765.

APHANUS.

You'll please to direct to your old Acquaintance Benj. N—S.”

[The “Answer” must belong to much the same date as the “Rebus” preceding it. Curiously enough, Byrom had more than two score years before this been engaged in a species of poetical correspondence with the Lord Chesterfield of the day—the third Earl, who died in 1726. See *Remains*, i. 76, *s.d.* March 31, 1724: “Vernon’s brother would fain have me answer Lord Chesterfield’s verses for him;” and *ib.*, April 1: “to Richard’s, where I left a letter for Vernon, with some letters for my Lord Chesterfield, twenty-four.”]

The famous Lord Chesterfield, the supposed author of the puzzle which the ingenious Mr. Byrom was called upon to “unravel,” was much addicted, in those leisure moments of which he had enough and to spare in the course of his life, to all manner of *jeux de mots*, of which there are divers examples in the late Lord Carnarvon’s edition of his Letters to his son Philip Stanhope. The lines which follow ought not, I suppose, in strict propriety to have been called a *rebus*, which term signifies words expressed by things, or by pictures of things more immediately intelligible as such than words, syllables, or letters. Thus, it was, no doubt, in allusion to Warburton’s speculations on hieroglyphics that Lowth described that redoubtable controversialist as “condescending to a *rebus*.” But the term will serve, and the readers of Byrom will not visit his “condescension” upon him as severely as Swift castigated “Mrs.” Vanhomrigh’s “*rebus*” or pun upon his baptismal name (“*Jo-nathan*”):

—“Mean’s her *design*, and her *subject* as mean :

The *first* is a REBUS, the *last* but a DEAN.

A dean’s but a parson, but what is a rebus ?

A thing never known to the *muses* or Phœbus.”

—*Works*, vol. iv. part i, (1755), pp. 317-8.

As to the actual problem propounded by “Aphanus” to “Diaphanus,” without the result of much light being thrown upon it by the latter, I have little to say. The identity of “Diaphanus” himself remains obscure, unless (as I shrewdly suspect) there lurks beneath it no other than our old friend “Sir Peter,” alias Mr. Ralph Leycester of Toft, in the county of Chester. (Cf. *ante*, p. 30.) In this case, the reference to Byrom’s “old acquaintance,” Benj. N—s, might without excessive audacity, be interpreted as an allusion, “wrote sarcastical,” to Benjamin Nichols, in 1745 *Whig Assistant-Curate of St. Ann’s, Manchester* (cf.

Remains, ii. 386). But Byrom's response concerning "Ben." may seem too cordial to suit this conjecture.

As to the solution of the "*rebus*," although I might fairly shelter myself behind the inability of "Diaphanus" to guess it, I feel bound to state that a lady of my acquaintance has ingeniously suggested, and with the assistance of her daughter worked out to a fair degree of probability, the answer "*Heraeopolis Magna*." This solution, which apparently had hovered round Byrom's "neighbours" and "neighbouresses" (ll. 18-40) is not rendered less acceptable by the fact, that of the supposed city of Middle Egypt no ruins remained to suggest specific allusions.

THE REBUS.

THE noblest Object in the Works of Art ;
 The brightest Scene that Nature can impart ;
 The well-known Signal in the time of Peace ;
 The Point essential in the Tenant's Lease ;
 The Farmer's Comfort, when he holds the Plough ;
 A Soldier's Duty, and the Lover's Vow ;
 A Contract made before the Nuptial Tie ;
 A Blessing Riches never can supply ;
 A spot that adds new Charms to pretty Faces ;
 An Engine, us'd in fundamental Cases ;
 A Planet, seen between the Earth and Sun ;
 A Prize which Merit never yet has won ;
 A Loss which Prudence seldom can retrieve ;
 The Death of Judas, and the Fault of Eve ;
 A Part between the Auncle and the Knee ;
 A Patriot's Toast, and a Physician's Fee ;
 A Wife's Ambition, and a Parson's Dues ;
 A Miser's Idol, and the Badge of Jews :—
 If now your happy Genius can divine
 The Correspondent Words to every Line,
 By the first Letters will be plainly found
 An ancient City that is much renown'd.]

10

20

THE ANSWER.

I.

PAUCIS, Friend Aphanus, abhinc Diebus,
With no small Pleasure, I receiv'd a Rebus.
Not that the Rebus gave it, understand,
But old Acquaintance BENJAMIN'S own Hand !
For all the Blessings due to mortal Men,
Rebus in omnibus, I wish to BEN.

II.

At his Request I sought for ancient City,
That lay conceal'd in cabalistic Ditty.
So did we all,—for, when his Letter came,
Some Friends were chair'd around the focal Flame,—
But Rebus out not one of all could make ;
Diaphanus himself was quite *opaque*. 10

III.

Tho' pleas'd with pleasing, when he can do so,
His Ingenuity he loves to show ;
If such a Thing falls out to be his Lot,
He is as free to own when it does not.
Here he had none, nor any *Succedaneum*,
That could discover this same *Herculaneum*.

IV.

Altho' it seem'd to ask, when it appear'd,
No great *Herculean* Labour to be clear'd ; 20

11. Not one 'mongst all, the Rebus out.—B. 15, 16. Transposed in B.

18. *That should discover the same HER-* when Byrom wrote, and the official ac-
CULANEUM. The date of the discovery of count of its antiquities was at that time
Herculaneum was still tolerably recent actually in course of publication.

So many different Wits at work, no doubt,
 The City's Name would quickly be found out.
 But, notwithstanding *variorum Lecture*,
 The Name lay snug without the least Detecture.

V.

You stand entitl'd, hereupon, to laugh
 At hapless Genius in your Friend *Diaph.*
 But in excuse for what he must confess,
 Nor Men, nor even Ladies here could guess ;
 To *Variorum* seen, or *Variarum*,
 No more of ancient City than old *Sarum*.

30

VI.

One Thing, however, rose from this Occasion :
 It put an End to Fears of French Invasion ;
 And Wits, quite frighten'd out of Dames, and Men,
 When Rebus came, came into 'em again.
 Tho' little skill'd to judge of either Matter,
 Yet the more pleasing Puzzle was the latter.

VII.

You'll think, I'm thinking, upon second Thought,
 That, tho' we miss'd of City that was sought,
 We might have told you somewhat of the Guesses
 Of luckless Neighbours, and of Neighbouresses.
 So, let us try to give you just an *Item* ;
 For it would take a Volume to recite 'em.

40

29, 30. Transposed in B. 37. It will occur to you, on.—B.
 38. Miss'd the.—B. 40. And neighbouresses.—B.

26. *Your friend DIAPH.* For the familiarity of the abbreviation cf. *ante* (p. 163) : “*Melpomene*, sweet charming *Mel.*, be mine !”

32. *It put an End to Fears of French*

Invasion. These fears were perhaps not very strong—or as strong as they might fairly have been—in 1765 (the year of the Stamp Act); but they were by no means extinct.

VIII.

“I can’t divine,” said *Chloe*, “for my Part,
What the Man means by ‘*noblest Work of Art*:’
From Clock to Temple, Pyramid, and Ship,
And twenty diff’rent Handiworks you skip.
Now, I dare say, when all your Votes are past,
City, or Work,—’tis *Dresden* at the last.”

IX.

“Nor I,” said *Phillis*, “what the Man can mean
By his next Hint of ‘*Nature’s brightest Scene*.’”
Amongst so many of her Scenes so bright
Who can devise which of ‘em is the right?
To name a Word where brightest Scene must lie,
And speak my own Opinion, Sirs,—’tis *Eye*.”

50

X.

“*Peace*,” said a Third, of I forget what Sex,
“Has ‘*well known Signal*’ that may well perplex.
It should be Olive-Branch, to be well known,
But Rebus, unconfin’d to that alone,
May mean Abundance, Plenty, Riches, Trade;—
Who knows the Signal that is here display’d?”

60

XI.

Thus they went on ; but, tho’ I stir its Embers,
It is not much that Memory remembers.

48. ’Tis DRESDEN at the last. “Dresden” china, of which the secret was to all intents and purposes “discovered” in 1709, very slowly found its way into favour in the English fashionable world. On the other hand, it had not yet gone out of

fashion at the time when Byrom wrote ; although porcelain, said to have been manufactured at Bow and at Chelsea before Böttger’s “discovery,” was by this time also produced in Italy and France.

Two Ladies had a long disputing Match,
 Whether “*Charm-adding Spot*” was Mole or Patch ;
 While none would venture to decide the Vole :—
 One had a Patch and t’other had a Mole.

XII.

So, “*Wife’s Ambition*” made a parted School ;
 Some said “to *please* her Husband ;” some, “to *rule*.⁷⁰
 On this moot point, too, Rebus would create,
 As you may guess, a pretty smart Debate ;
 Till one propos’d to end it thus with Ease :
 “The only way to *rule* him—is to *please*.”

XIII.

Hold ! I forgot :—One said, “a *Parson’s Dues*”
 Was the same Thing with riming “*Badge of Jews*,”—
 And “*Tithe*” was it,—but “Corn,” or “Pig,” or “Goose,”
 What Earth, or Animals of Earth produce,
 From Calf and Lamb to Turnip and Potatoe,
 Might be the Word ;——which he had nought to say to.

74. Shining Badge.—B.

75. And it was Tithe, of.—B.

64. *Whether “CHARM-ADDING SPOT” was Mole or Patch.* The distinction is between natural and artificial bewitchments. Moles will never be out of fashion ; patches were much in it about the middle of the eighteenth century. See, in Planché’s *History of British Costume*, p. 354, quoted from the *Gray’s Inn Journal*, No. 8, 1752, an advertisement of the sale by auction of “the whole stock of a coquette leaving off trade.” It includes “the secret of putting on patches in an artful manner, showing the effect of their different arrangement,

with instructions how to place them about the eye in such a manner as to give disdain, or amorous languish, or a cunning glance. Translated from the French.”

65. *To decide the Vole.* To decide the game or contest. A “vole,” according to Johnson, is “a deal at cards, that draws the whole tricks.”

“The dean is dead (pray, what is trumps?)
 “The Lord have mercy on his soul.
 “(Ladies, I’ll venture for the vole.)”
 —SWIFT’s *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift.*

XIV.

Made for Excuse, you see, upon the whole,
The too great Number of the Words, that poll
For Correspondency to ev'ry Line,
And make the meant one tedious to divine!
But we suspect that other Points ambiguous,
And eke unfair, contribute to fatigue us.

80

XV.

For, first, with due Submission to our Betters,
What ancient City could have eighteen Letters?
Or more,—for, in the latter Lines, the Clue
May have *one* correspondent Word, or two?
Clue should have said, if only one occurr'd,
Not “correspondent *Words*” to each, but “*Word*.”

90

XVI.

From some Suspicions of a Bite, we guess
The Number of the Letters to be less;
And, from Expression of a certain Cast,
Some Joke, unequal to the Pains at last.
Could you have said that all was right and clever,
We should have tried more fortunate Endeavour.

79. For an excuse is made.—B. 80. The two great.—B.
96. Ours would have been more.—B.

91. *Some Suspicions of a Bite.* A “Bite,” in Swift's age and the next, is a hoax; and “Biters” were what in later days were called the “Hoaxers” or “Humbuggers.” See Genest's account (ii. 327-8) of Rowe's comedy of *The Biter*, which amused nobody but the author. Genest recalls, as

the best illustration known to him of the term *bite*, the story in the *Spectator* of a condemned felon who had sold his body to a surgeon. Having completed the transaction, “*bite*,” says he: “I am to be hanged in chains.”

XVII.

"It should contain, should this same *Feu de Mots*,
 Clean-pointed Turn, short, fair, and à *Propos*,—
 Wit without Straining, Neatness without Starch,
 Hinted tho' hid, and decent tho' 'tis arch ; 100
 No vile Idea should disgrace a *Rebus*."
Sic dicunt Musæ, sic edicit Phœbus.

XVIII.

This, *Aphanus*, tho' short of Satisfaction,
 Is what Account occurs of the Transaction,—
 Impertinent enough ; but you'll excuse
 What your own Postscript half enjoin'd the Muse.
 She, when she took the sudden Task upon her,
 Believe me, did it to "oblige" your Honour.

97. There should be always in a.—B. 98. Clear-pointed.—B.
 100. Tho' hidden, decent.—B.

101. *No vile Idea should disgrace a* (in Motière's way) in that "commonly as-
Rebus. I suspect one coarse allusion cribbed to Lord Chesterfield."

TIME PAST, FUTURE, AND PRESENT.

[This and several of the other short pieces which follow, and to which it is not possible to assign any particular dates, are towards the end of the first volumes of both A and B collected under the heading of *Miscellaneous Pieces, consisting of Thoughts on various Subjects, Fragments, Epigrams, &c.* It seems unnecessary to attempt here any such classification. Although it is a hazardous experiment in taste to indite superscriptions for aphorisms, I hope that no glaring impropriety has been committed in connexion with the present series.]

The thought moralised in the four lines ensuing is the same as that amplified in the story of the three successive utterances of Friar Bacon's Brazen Head—"Time is—Time was—Time is past." This didactic fancy, after being repeated in ballads, was worked out dramatically in Scene xi. of Robert Greene's *Honourable History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay.*]

TIME that is past thou never can'st recall ;
Of time to come thou art not sure at all ;
Time present only is within thy Pow'r :
Now, now, improve, then, whilst thou can'st, the Hour !

LOOK AT HOME !

[I have ventured on the above title, since the Delphic, rather than the Scriptural, way of enforcing his moral seems to have been in the mind of the Epigrammatist.]

SET not the Faults of other Folks in View ;
But rather mind what thou thyself should'st do ;
For twenty Errors of thy Neighbour known
Will tend but little to reform thy own !

DISARMING AN ENEMY.

SAFER to reconcile a Foe, than make
 A Conquest of him for the Conquest's Sake;
 This tames his *Pow'r* of doing present Ill,
 But That disarms him of the very *Will*.

ANGRY REPROOF.

[This epigram happily applies the general *Suaviter in Modo* principle affirmed by its successor. Something, however, of the force of Byrom's illustration may be lost at the present day, owing to the fact that mere details of treatment are on principle ignored by so many members of his profession.]

TO give Reproof in Anger, to be sure,
 Whate'er the Fault, is not the Way to cure.
 Would a wise Doctor offer, dost thou think,
 The Sick his Potion scalding-hot to drink ?

THE EFFECTS OF MANNER.

A Graceful Manner and a friendly Ease
 Will give a "No," and not at all displease ;
 And an ill-natur'd or ungraceful "YES,"
 When it is giv'n, is taken much amiss.

THE WICKEDNESS OF REVENGE.

[See Tertulliani *De Patientia Liber*, cap. 10. (*Opera*. rec. J. H. Semler, Halle, 1770, iv. 92): “*Ultio penes errorem solatum videtur doloris, penes veritatem certe redarguitur malignitatis. Quid enim refert inter provocantem et provocatum, nisi quod ille prior in maleficiis reprehenditur, at ille posterior. Tamen uterque læsi hominis Domino reus est: Qui omne nequam et prohibet et damnat.*”]

BUT small the Diff'rence, if *Tertullian's* right,
To do an Injury, or to requite :
“He is,” said he, “who does it to the other,
But somewhat sooner wicked than his Brother.”

THE SELF-SUBORDINATION OF REASON.

MY Reason is I, and your Reason is YOU,
And, if we shall differ, both cannot be true ;
If Reason must judge, and we two must agree,
Another, third Reason must give the Decree,
Superior to ours, and to which it is fit
That both, being weaker, should freely submit.
Now, in Reason submitting is plainly implied
That it does not pretend, of itself, to decide.

THE *QUID* AND THE *QUIS*.

[Byrom means, I suppose, that in the case of ordinary principles or maxims their substantial meaning involves their particular application ; but that there are truths which cannot be perfectly understood except by subjective consciousness. This is of course mysticism.]

IN Truths that Nobody can miss,
It is the *Quid* that makes the *Quis* ;
In such as lie more deeply hid,
It is the *Quis* that makes the *Quid*.

A QUERY.

[The Manchester Infirmary was founded in 1752, when a house in Garden Street, Shude Hill, was temporarily given up to the purposes of the charity. The first stone of the Infirmary buildings, on land transferred by Sir Oswald Mosley, was laid on May 20th, 1754, and the institution was opened in the following year.—The first regular theatre in Manchester was opened in Marsden Street on December 3rd, 1753; previously to this theatrical performances had been carried on in a wooden structure at the bottom of King Street. (See W. E. A. Axon, *The Annals of Manchester* (1886), pp. 89–91; cf. *The older Theatres and the Drama* in J. Harland's *Manchester Collectanea*, Chetham Society Publications, vol. lxxii. (1867), i. 55 seqq.)

These facts sufficiently date the following lines. Byrom's interest in the Manchester Infirmary is further shown by the *Verses designed for an Infirmary*, reprinted *infra*, in vol. ii. of the present edition. In the Catalogue of his Library we find (p. 157): “Moss (Thomas), *Sermon at the Collegiate Church, Manchester, for the support of the Infirmary.* 4to. Manchester, 1754.” Byrom's dislike of theatrical performances in general, and his objection to the performance of *Cato* at the Theatre in 1760, by the Grammar School boys, have been already noted. It may here be added, that W. Purnell, the High-Master, whose laxity or tolerance in the matter of the theatre offended Byrom on this occasion, afterwards made a liberal bequest in his will to the Infirmary (*Remains*, ii. 502 note).]

SHOULD a good Angel and a bad between
Th' Infirmary and Theatre be seen,—
One going to be present at the Play,
The other where the sick and wounded lay :
Quære, were your Conjecture to be had,
Which would the good one go to, which the bad ?

VERSES DESIGNED FOR A WATCH-CASE.

[These lines, the notion of which may have been suggested to Byrom by the ancient practice of inscribing upon Dials similar though briefer gnomic reflexions, are in my opinion among the most pleasing of his efforts of this description. Words and metre are here in accord; and the effect of the final Alexandrine seems to me admirable.]

COULD but our Tempers move like this Machine,
Not urg'd by Passion, nor delay'd by Spleen,
But, true to Nature's regulating Pow'r,
By virtuous Acts distinguish ev'ry Hour:
Then Health and Joy would follow, as they ought,
The Laws of Motion and the Laws of Thought,—
Sweet Health, to pass the present Moments o'er,
And everlasting Joy, when Time shall be no more.

AN ADMONITION AGAINST SWEARING.

ADDRESSED TO AN OFFICER IN THE ARMY.

O H! That the Muse might call, without offence,
The gallant Soldier back to his good Sense,—
His temp'ral Field so cautious not to lose,
So careless quite of his eternal Foes!
Soldier, so tender of thy Prince's Fame,
Why so profuse of a Superior Name?
For the King's Sake, the Brunt of Battles bear,
But, for the King of Kings' Sake, DO NOT SWEAR!

TO THE SAME, EXTEMPORE

INTENDED TO ALLAY THE VIOLENCE OF PARTY-SPRIT.

[Of all Byrom's epigrams, except that on Handel and Bononcini, this is the best-quoted. To begin with, it rests enshrined in *Redgauntlet* (vol. ii. ch. 1), where the Jacobite Herries, the semi-Jacobite Justice Foxwell, and the loyally-disposed Darsie Latimer, join in exhausting "the composition of ale, sherry, lemon-juice, nutmeg and other good things, stranded upon the silver bottom of the tankard, the huge toast, as well as the roasted orange, which had whilome floated jollily upon the brim, and rendered legible Dr. Byrom's celebrated lines engraved thereon :

"God bless the King,—I mean the Faith's Defender ;
 God bless—no Harm in blessing!—the Pretender ;
 Who that Pretender is, and who that King,—
 God bless us all!—is quite another Thing."

The date at which Byrom wrote his celebrated lines cannot be determined, since they accurately represent the political attitude consistently maintained by him throughout his life—except, perhaps, during his early visit to France and on the occasion of the Young Pretender's visit to Manchester. I think, however, that the second couplet of the epigram can hardly have been written before February 6th, 1739. Under that date Byrom records in his *Diary*: "At the Club in Chancery Lane: six lines out of Swift's poem, that were left out :

'He's dead, you say? Why, let him rot!
 I'm glad the medals were forgot
 I promis'd him, 'tis true—but when?
 I only was the Princess then;
 But now, as Consort of a King,
 You know, 'tis quite another thing.'"

(*Remains*, ii. 214). The above lines are represented by six rows of asterisks in the *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift* (*Works*, 4to. edition of 1755, vol. iii. Part i. p. 246), following upon these :

“‘Tis told at Court, the Dean is dead.
And Lady *Suffolk* in the spleen
Runs laughing up to tell * *
* * so gracious, mild and good,
Cries, ‘Is he gone? ’tis time he should.’”

Obviously, the turn of the concluding couplet of the suppressed passage suggested that of the second couplet in our *Epigram*. It seems probable that the latter was written about the time of the '45, or soon afterwards. On March 17th, 1748, Byrom writes to his wife: “Mr. Freke repeated to me those verses, ‘God bless the King! God bless the Faith’s Defender!’ and said they were Dr. Den’s.” (*Remains*, ii. 424). “Dr. Den” was, I presume, Dr. Deacon.

As for the point of the witticism, it is not very different from that of Sir John Harington’s epigram, modestly quoted by him to Prince Henry as the production of a “poet” unnamed:

“Treason dothe never prosper;—What’s the reason?
Why, if it prosper, none dare call it Treason.”

—*Nugae Antiquae*, ed. Park, 1804, i. 385.

In the ticklish times when Jacobitism was still a cause as well as a sentiment, many non-jurors were hard put to it in their efforts to arrange a *modus vivendi* between circumstances and conscience. Ken, though holding with Kettlewell, Nelson, and Dodwell, that private persons might attend services of the church, where prayers were said for the *de facto* sovereigns, “with a mental reservation, or with some manifestation that they were not joining in them,” felt that he, as a public person, could not join. Frampton, the non-juring bishop of Gloucester, used to read the service in his church at Standish, *omitting the names of William and Mary*. Ken’s friend, Lord Weymouth, on the other hand, appears to have had services in his private chapel at Longleat, from which the so-called “characteristic” prayers themselves were left out. (See Dean Plumptre’s *Life of Ken*, ii. 58 and *note*, where our *Epigram* is cited, and 59 *note*.)

In 1745, during the occupation of Edinburgh by Charles Edward, a suburban clergyman named Macvicar is related to have offered up prayers “for the King” in the following style: “Bless the King: *Thou knows what King I mean*;—may the crown sit long easy upon his head, &c. And for the man that is come among us to seek an earthly crown

we beseech Thee in Thy mercy to take him to Thyself, and give him a crown of glory!" (Ray's *History of the Rebellion*, cited in R. Chambers' *History of the Rebellion of 1745-6*, 7th ed., p. 142 and note.)

In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxxiv. Part ii. p. 552 (December, 1814), I find a note which oddly illustrates the advantage to be found in generalibus: "Dr. Byrom, the Author of Shorthand, soon after the year 1745, told George Lloyd, Esq., of Hulme Hall, near Manchester, that the song of 'God save the King' was first written, 'God save great Charles our King.'"]

GOD bless the King,—I mean the Faith's Defender;
God bless—no Harm in blessing—the Pretender!
But who Pretender is, or who is King—
God bless us all! that's quite another Thing.

ON PRIOR'S *SOLOMON*.

AN EPIGRAM.

[This Epigram alludes to the following lines towards the close of Book I. of Prior's *Solomon on the Vanity of the World: a Poem in Three Books* (1718):

"The learnèd elders sat appall'd, amaz'd,
And each with mutual look on other gaz'd.
Not speech they meditate, nor answer frame:
Too plain, alas! their silence spoke their shame."

The criticism conveyed is, however, no doubt intended to refer, not only to Book I., where the moral of the vanity of human knowledge is evolved at considerable length from a not remarkably profound biological survey, but also to the poem at large. Concerning this production, Johnson, in his Life of Prior (*Lives of the Poets*), appositely observes: "Tedium is the most fatal of all faults; negligences or errors are single and local; but tedium pervades the whole; other faults are censured and forgotten, but the power of tedium propagates itself. He that is weary the first hour, is more weary the second;

as bodies forced into motion contrary to their tendency pass more and more slowly through every successive interval of space." Cowper, on the other hand, considered *Solomon* "the best poem, whether we consider the subject of it, or the execution," Prior "ever wrote." (See *Letter to Unwin*, Jan. 5th, 1782, cited in the Aldine edition of Prior's *Works*, 18, i. xxvi. note.)

There is no need for enquiring here, how far the Second Book of *Solomon* invalidates a censure which the Third cannot be said to contradict. In general, it may be pleaded in favour of a writer, of whom dulness is certainly not a characteristic feature, that he only took to moral philosophy after he had been relegated from diplomacy. Now-a-days, he would have written his autobiography, and might have proved at least as amusing as some other ex-ministers. But "Matt." was bound to follow the example of "Harry." He was not unconscious of his short-comings: see *The Conversation: a Tale* (PRIOR'S *Poetical Works*, Aldine edition, ii. 234-5):

—“pass his *politics* and *prose*,
I never headed with his foes ;
Nay, in his verses, as a friend,
I still found something to commend.
Sir, I excus'd his *Nut-brown Maid*
Whate'er severer critics said ;
Too far, I own, the girl was tried ;
The women all were on my side.
For *Alma* I return'd him thanks :
I lik'd her with her little pranks.
Indeed, poor *Solomon* in rime
Was much too grave to be sublime.”]

WISE Solomon, with all his rambling Doubts,
Might talk two Hours, I guess, or thereabouts;
“And yet,” quoth he, “my Elders, to their Shame,
Kept Silence all, nor Answer did they frame.”—
Dear me! what else but Silence should they keep?
He, to be sure, had talk'd them all asleep.

AN ANECDOTE.

[Possibly, were the search worth the labour, the cap of this anecdote might be fitted to the "head-piece" of some French ambassador of the reign of James I. But the authorship of the facetious censure suits Wotton rather than Bacon; and it would be futile to enquire into the process whereby the jest, whoever perpetrated it, came to be fathered upon one so little accustomed as was Bacon to affront the ordinary dictates of morigeration.

There is a touch of self-persiflage in these lines, as Byrom was himself "of stature most uncommon tall." See *Remains*, i. 434, and note.]

THE French Ambassador had been to wait
 On James the First, in Equipage of State.
 Bacon was by; to whom the King began:
 "Well now, my Lord, what think you of the Man?"
 "He's a tall, proper Person, Sir," said he.
 "Aye," said the King; "that anyone may see.
 But what d'ye think of Head-piece in the Case?
 Is he a 'proper Person' for his Place?"
 My Lord, who thought he was not, I suppose,
 Gave him this Answer, as the Story goes:
 "Tall Men are oft like Houses that are tall:
 The upper Rooms are furnish'd worst of all."

10

LATIN VERSE.

I.

IN CALVUM.

EPIGRAM.

[*Remains*, i. 153: “Wednesday, June 9th, 1725: Yesterday these verses came into my head at John’s.” (“John” was Mr. Leycester’s man, from whom Byrom had hired a lodging; cf. *ib.*, 145.) The “third alternative”—of Sunday services with the service left out, called “Sunday lectures for the people” or the like,—had not been invented in Calvus’ day.]

*DUM Calvum objurgo, quod nunquam Templa frequenter,
“Illud plebs,” inquit, “carpet anilis Iter;
Templa petat qui vult; at Ego, quæcunque Sacerdos
Ex Cathedrâ possit dicere, jam teneo.”—
Quis neget Ætatem nobis esse ingeniosam,
Ingenium cum sit posse manere Domi?*

5-6. *Quis neget*, &c. “Who would it is a proof of genius to be able to do deny this to be an age of geniuses, when without going to church?”

II.

IN EUNDEM.

[This Epigram is entered without note or comment in Byrom’s *Journal*, on the day after that on which the preceding Epigram found a place there (*Remains*, i. 153).]

The folly of “Calvus’” contention lies in selecting a single mood of the human mind as the origin of religion, instead of acknowledging,

that to the formation of religious systems various mental as well as moral moods have been contributory.]

“*PRIMUS in Orbe Deos fecit Timor.*”—*Hæc mihi, Calve,*
Est ubi de Sacris Quæstio, vociferas.
Cum fueris tute ipse hominum timidissimus, unde est,
Improbè, quod dubites an sit ubique Deus?

III.

IN EUNDEM.

[*Remains*, i. 154: “Friday, June 11th . . . to J. Ord’s chambers . . . supped upon cold lamb and salad . . . While we were there I took occasion to quote these verses as out of Buchanan.”—A tolerably safe venture, since of George Buchanan it might almost be asserted, that he touched nothing, sacred or profane, without turning it into Latin verse.]

DUM bibitur, Calvus Rationem laudat Amicis,
Et quantum satis est omnibus ore trahit;
Rectam, sinceram, cœlestem, et cætera clamans,
“Tu Ratio nobis Numen es,”—atque bibit;
Donec vix tandem potis est incedere rectus,
Aut verbum rectâ de Ratione loqui.
Dum Socium intueor, “quænam hæc Dementia Calvi
“Tam cito quæ laudet perdere?” sic monuit.
Desine mirari: nihil est nisi quod Rationem
Nuncupet hic, aliis quod solet esse Merum.

10

IV.

EPIGRAM.

[In Byrom’s *Diary*, Sunday, June 13th, 1725, these distichs appear after the entry: “Came to Richard’s, Ord, &c., came to me . . . we

had supper . . . it rained ; I ran home through Gray's Inn Lane." The "Jacobus" of l. 2 was therefore probably James or "Jemmy" Ord.

The Epigram seems to mean that what the world cares for is success or failure, not who may succeed or fail. The illustration was probably suggested by Lucan's famous line :

"*Victrix causa Deis placuit, sed victa Catoni.*"]

"*CÆSAR Pompeium vicit.*" *Quæ Nominâ ! Quin tu
Accipe, quam fuerit Fama, Jacobe, nihil !*
"Cæsar," id est "Victor;" "Victor" quoque "Cæsar;" eundem
Fama hominem binis Vocibus ergo notat.
Sic etiam, cœu "Pompeium" tu dicere mavis,
Cœu "victum," Res est unica, Verba duo;
Sensus idem nobis; id enim Nos novimus unum,
Quod quivis quendam vicerit—hic HONOR est.

2 *Accipe, &c.* "Understand, James, how their fame amounted to just nothing at all!" 8. *Quod quivis, &c.* "That the honour rests with anyone who conquers anyone else."

V.

ODE TO THE EARL OF HARRINGTON.

[Better verses than those of which the following "Ode" consists, could perhaps have been better spared from a collection of poems intended to show their author at his best in all senses. This humble effort in metrical Latin exhibits Byrom exerting himself, *quocunque modo*, on behalf of a youthful victim of a cause with which he sympathised, and, it will be conceded, showing much moral courage by so frank an avowal of his sympathy.]

These verses are reprinted from a note, appended in *Remains*, ii. 444 seqq., to the following passage in a letter written by Byrom to his wife, from London, June 18th, 1748 : "On the Friday before, being the 10th of June, I had been asked to meet Mr. Folkes" (cf. *ante*, p. 63) "at Mr. Ch. Stanhope's, where I found likewise Lord

Lonsdale, Duke of Montague, and Mr. Stanhope's brother Lord Harrington, with whom we passed the dinner and an hour or two after very agreeably. They asked me a great many questions about the Pretender, and circumstances when he was at Manchester, &c., and I told them what I knew and thought without any reserve, and took the opportunity of setting some matters in a truer light than I supposed they had heard them placed in, and put in now and then a word in favour of the prisoners, especially Ch. D "[eacou]. "They were all very free and good-natured, and did not seem offended with anything that I took the liberty to enlarge upon. When Mr. Folkes came away about seven o'clock, I came with him; and he said that what had passed might possibly occasion young D.'s liberty; that they were not violent in their tempers; and that he took notice that they listened very much to what I had been telling them of Manchester affairs. I was much pleased with the openness of conversation which we had upon several subjects; and as Mr. St[anhope] had made me promise him some verses that I had lately writ, I added a Latin copy to his brother the Viceroy of Ireland, which I brought him yesterday, for he had sent a servant for me to dine with him again, and there we had Lord Harrington, Lord Baltimore, D. of Richmond, and a lady—Lady Townshend—and somebody else—oh, Sir John Cope. The Duchess of R. should have been there, but the Duke made an excuse for her. As we had a lady, however, and one (as Mr. St. had hinted to me) of great wit and politeness, who stayed the afternoon, complaisance to her turned the conversation upon suitable subjects, so that I could not well introduce the fate of Ch. D., &c., before the D. of R., who is one of our present Kings, as I wanted to do. Mr. St. had read the Latin verses and given them to his brother before dinner, and the Duke might have seen them if he would; but the lady and the Latin did not suit politely enough, and there was no urging anything untimely; or else I would have been glad to have heard what he would have said about the lot of the imprisoned. Mr. Stanhope complaining of a little pain in his side, Lord H. advised him to go to Ranelagh; and, the rest being all engaged, he took me in his chariot thither; Lord H. said he would go home and read the verses. One can only try, as occasion offers, what mercy can be got from trying." (*Remains*, ii. 444-448).

I commend to the attention of historical painters in search of a novel

subject this suggestive sketch of the high-souled and simple-minded Jacobite gentleman and versifier, seeking to possess his soul and its generous longings in quiet among a select company of Government Whigs. My humble “instructions to a painter” of such a picture, were I called upon to give them, would be not to represent any of these influential personages as more “violent in their tempers” than they either were or could well help being. I need say no more about any of the stars (and garters) in this particular galaxy; except that William Stanhope, first Earl of Harrington, after being Lord President of the Council from 1742-4, and a Secretary of State from 1744-6, besides being named a Lord Justice of Great Britain in 1743 and 1745, was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (in succession to Lord Chesterfield) from November 1746 to April 1751; and that the Duke of Richmond is in the above extract termed “one of our present Kings,” as having been appointed one of the Lords Justices of Great Britain in 1748 (neither for the first nor for the last time in his career).

The merit of such efforts as Byrom’s are not to be measured by their actual success any more than by their literary qualities. On July 14th, 1748, he told his wife that his good friend Folkes had taken him to a breakfast at the Duke of Richmond’s, given on the occasion (not of a boat-race, but) of an eclipse of the sun: “I spoke to D. Richmond about Ch. D.; but he answered my sayings with the father and son not repenting, and that God Himself did not pardon without repentance; to which I did not care to give the reply for fear of exasperating; he did not say anything very discouraging neither; told me there had been no report made yet, as did Mr. Stanhope the morning before, whom I again put in mind of remembering the prisoners, and shall see him to-morrow morning, and know whether any report was made to-day; for the Duke went to the Regency at the end of the Eclipse.” (*Remains*, ii. 451.)

Charles Deacon was the younger of the two sons of Dr. Deacon of Manchester who, with other officers of the “Manchester Regiment,” fell into the hands of the Government at the surrender of Carlisle on December 24th, 1745. Their trial began in London on July 16th, 1746, and ended in the conviction of all the prisoners. Charles, a mere boy at the time, was reprieved. On July 30th, those who were to suffer death at Kennington Common were dragged thither in sledges, “behind which, under the guard of a warder, the younger Deacon lay rather than

sat. His youth had saved his life. The parting of the two brothers was most touching, and the younger one implored that he might suffer too. He suffered more; for he was condemned to witness the sufferings of his brother." (See Dr. Doran, *London in the Jacobite Times*, ii. 179; cf. R. Chambers, *History of the Rebellion of 1745-6*, p. 444.) After this, Charles Deacon and William Brettargh remained in prison. In March, 1748, Byrom writes to his wife: "I called at Will's coffee-house by Lincoln's Inn, where I saw Mr. Hudson and asked how Ch. D[eacon] did; he had been with the Duke of Newcastle about him and others, and was told that it would soon be determined what was to be done about them; it seems the sheriff would not let them go out upon occasion, but this without any direction from his superiors." (*Remains*, ii. 420).

After Byrom's chivalrous exertions on behalf of Charles Deacon, the question of his liberation seems to have remained for some time in suspense (see the *Introductory Note* to the English version of the Latin lines, *ante*, and cf. *Remains*, ii. 458, 480). But, whether or not in consequence of some occult influence on the other side, he had to drink the cup to the dregs.

On January 11th, 1749, Charles Deacon and William Brettargh were conveyed from the New Gaol, Southwark, to Gravesend, for transportation for life. Their fate seems to have been shared by many privates of the unfortunate "Manchester Regiment." (*Remains*, ii. 451 note; cf. Axon, *Annals of Manchester*, p. 87.)

For the author's English version, so far as it has been recovered, of these stanzas, *vide ante*, pp. 379 seqq.]

I.

*PARCE, plaudentis Vicerex Iernes,
Caroli fratris gratiâ, poetæ,*

1. *Plaudentis Vicerex Iernes.* "Ierne" had long prevailed was slightly ruffled," with ulterior consequences of some importance. (See Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd ed., 1879, ii. 429 seqg.)

2. *Caroli fratris.* Charles Stanhope, elder brother of Lord Harrington, and Secretary of the Treasury.

*Si quid, extemplo, tibi carmen ausus
Cudere peccet.*

II.

*Perculit Musam tua, Vir benigne,
Comitas; et qui fuit Optimatum
Candor, hesternis ego dum loquelis
Lætus adessem.*

III.

*Nobiles tecum gemini adfuerunt
Montagu, Lonsdale, regiusque Præses
Noster, ut fratri fuerim roganti
Ultimus hospes.*

10

IV.

*Quinque conlustres animas ut inter
Prandum sumpsi, meus et minister
Ipse tu, Rex sis licet alter, essem,
Nonne beatus?*

V.

*Nonne? cum tantas agitare lites
Quas super mundus movet arma nobis
Contigit, major tamen usque pacis
Cresceret ardor.*

20

7. *Hesternis loquelis.* See *Introductory Note.* Lonsdale, who was Lord Privy Seal from 1733 to 1735.

10. *Montagu.* John, second Duke of Montagu, who was appointed one of the Lords Justices in 1745.

Ib. Lonsdale. Henry, third Viscount Stanhope was host.

Regiusque Præses. Martin Folkes, L.L.D., President of the Royal Society.

Cf. *Introductory Note, ante, p. 63.*

Fratri roganti. Mr. Charles Stan-

hope was host.

VI.

*Nonne? cum cives, et amare cives
Non indecorum est, licuit tueri,
Infimi quos exagitant homunc'li
Mille fabellis.*

VII.

*Heu! quot insulsis aliquando rebus
Ira civilis capitur? Sed horum
Qui luto gaudent meliore, vix præ-
-cordia tangunt.*

VIII.

*Me juvet, vestri memorem favoris,
Hanc resurgentem recreare lucem,
Quodque mens urget, placidi sodales,
Libera fari!* 30

IX.

*Vos enim sensi facile audientes
Quicquid inclinet leviora versus,
Insitæ quicquid generositati
Præbeat ansam.*

X.

*Tres erant, nolim nisi vera fari,
Tres erant fratres, mera quos juventus
Nuper abrepit, gladiisque cinxit
Morte luendis.* 40

27. *Luto meliore.* A finer clay.

38. *Tres erant fratres.* The three sons of Dr. Deacon.

39. *Gladiisque cinxit.* As officers of the "Manchester Regiment" of the Young Pretender.

XI.

*Unus in vinclis periit, priusquam
Carcerum posset loculis novorum
Æger inferri, febris et quadrigæ
Motibus impar.*

XII.

*Alter ejusdem socio reatus
Teste, damnatur, moritur, caputque
Nos apud, mori nimium ferendo,
Flebile prostat.*

XIII.

*Tertius, jam tum puer et scholaris,
Inscius rerum, ferulæ pupillus,
Arma pro pomis capiens, suis se
Fratribus addit.*

50

XIV.

*Hunc tenent, et jam tenuere longum
Clastra; nam vita pietas pepercit
Et pudor justus, duplaremque tandem
Crevit in annum.*

XV.

*Mitto, quæ passus fuerit per annos
Hosce fatales, mala namque sortis
Ferreæ saltem miseranda, quot sunt
Plena ruinis!*

60

41. *Unus in vinclis periit.* Robert ("Bobby"), left ill at Carlisle, was carried to Kendal, where he died, apparently in prison.

45. *Alter.* Thomas Theodorus was executed at Kennington, and his head was

placed on the top of the Exchange at Manchester.

49. *Tertius.* Charles, the youngest, seems to have been at the time of the outbreak of the insurrection a Grammar-school boy.

XVI.

*Ille, Magnates, meus est et ille
Civis, et vestrum petere incitavit
Indoles, magni sitis O, meoque
Parcite civi.*

XVII.

*Exeat liber! Quid enim peric'li,
Si quibus Rex sit gratosus omnes
Exeant? Hoc est, ut opinor, omni
Numine dignum.*

XVIII.

*Inclytus Prorex, nisi fama fallit,
Civibus, nostræ regionis, olim
Carcere inclusis dedit ampliores
Ipsemet auras.*

70

XIX.

*Perge; succurras miseris, et altæ
Mentis ingentem recolas honorem,
Quæ modum pœnæ statuens, jubebit
Solvore vinc'la!*

XX.

*Cogites, quidnam velit Ille Summus
Imperatorum Deus Imperator;
Cujus æternum valeat per ævum
Sancta Voluntas.*

80

69. *Inclytus Prorex.* I do not know to what alleviation of the Manchester pri-
soners' durance this refers.

78. *Imperatorum Imperator.* The King of Kings.

XXI.

*Me, velim, credas coluisse Musam
Omnibus, quot sint homines, amicam ;
Ast inhumanis, ubicunque serpent,
Omnibus hostem !*

XXII.

*Quæ quod, imprimis, homo sim, deinde
Unus Anglorum, simul et Brigantum
Hacce me jussit, bene ter volentem,
Lege precari.*

XXIII.

*Det Deus cunctæ bona quæque genti ;
Hisce præsertim Britones fruantur :
Detque postremum populo salutem
Mancuniensi !*

90

86. *Brigantum.* The Brigantes were the British people dwelling beyond the line between Mersey and Humber. The foundation of Manchester has been ascribed to the military operations in connexion with the revolt of the Brigantes in 48 A.D.

AN EPITAPH.

[The following *jeu d'esprit* in prose, which the editors both of A and B include in vol. I. of their respective editions, is here appended without any note or comment beyond those originally accompanying it. “The Barrington” is explained as “A Silver two-handed Cup, belonging to the Bachelors of Trinity College, Cambridge, and called the Barrington, from the Name of the Donor. It was usually served up to Table full of Ale ; but this Custom being forbidden, for some particular Reason, by the Fellows of the College, gave occasion to the following Epitaph.” Browne, it is added, was “one of the Bachelors at that Time in College, of a remarkably strong Arm and Head — who is said to have filled it full to the Mouth with one Hand, and to have drunk it off at a Draught.”]

*IN Madidam Memoriam Joh. Barrington, equitis ARGENTEI,
hujusce Collegii olim COMMENSALIS.*

Stay, Traveller, the Barrington lies here, who left us poor Mortals to bewail his Loss, June 24th 1713.

He was a Philosopher of the *Plat-onic* Sect ; so true a Friend that there never was any but would let him into their *Secrets* at the first Acquaintance. He was a Man of *Metal*, and feared no Colours but *Browne*.

He kept Company with learned Men, and was a good Critic himself, especially at the filling up an *Hiatus*. He could enter into the *Heart* of an Author immediately. He dealt much in *Fragments*. He was an excellent Physician, and could give a Man a — or a Vomit, a Cordial or a sleepy Dose, just as a Man’s Body required it. He understood Anatomy so well, that he could dissect a Man alive, and trace thro’ every Part, and yet never hurt him. As well as he was skill’d in Optics, he never made use of any Glasses. He was a Jeweller, and has adorned many a Man with *Carbuncles* of his own making.

In short, he was every Thing ; a Man of an excellent *Taste*,

tho' something *frothy*. He was of an aspiring Temper, and would get to the *Head* in all Company he came into ; tho' he had this Check on his Ambition, that always the higher he mounted, the lower he sunk.

He was generally very *mild*, and never in a Passion ; and yet, Traveller, would not stick to *run thro'* the best Friend he had, and so *sharp* sometimes, that if a Man meddled with him, he would *cut his Throat*. He had a confounded large Mouth and Ears, but scarce any of his other Members perfect,—not above four Foot high, and yet many a one has died for Love of him.

He had such an ingenious Way of reprimanding a Man, that if he hit you in the Teeth with a Thing, you would not take it ill. He was a comical Blade enough ; had no Eyes himself, but would have made thee stare. He never had a Hand, yet would have knockt thee down. Sometimes he had a Head, and sometimes none ; and when he had, what is falsely reported of a certain Saint is true of him, that he carried it in his Mouth. When he was drunk, he had not a drop of Liquor in him, quite contrary to other Men. He would often change his Inside, but never his Outside. I could tell thee more Wonders, Traveller, but thou art puzzled already. In short, he had that in him, which thou wouldest wish to have in thee, and so fare thee well !

What is falsely reported of a certain Saint. The heads of saints have been credited with experiences after death almost as various as those which have been under-

gone by the heads of sinners (see e.g., the *Inferno*, c. xxviii) ; but I cannot identify the “report” as to the Saint alluded to in the Text.

PROSE PAPERS IN THE *SPECTATOR*.

[The readers of the present edition may possibly thank me for including in it a reprint of Byrom's three prose contributions to the *Spectator*, already referred to in the *Introductory Note* to *A Hint to a Young Person, &c.* (*ante* p. 133). They appeared, in quick succession for the contributions of a young and unknown writer, in No. 586, August 27th, No. 587, August 30th, and No. 593, September 13th, 1714; not being followed till October 6th of the same year by the famous "My time, O ye Muses" (*ante*, p. 1). Of these three papers, the first (which, by way of a harmless "blind" is dated from Oxford), and the third are authenticated by the signature "John Shadow," and the second by the editorial surmise as to its origin, which it would be futile to dispute. Byrom was through life identified with "John Shadow," and seems never to have desired to deny the impeachment, even when it was brought forward by his antagonist Owen in the *Preface* to his *Letter to the Master-Tool, &c.*, 1748 (cf. *ante*, p. 353 note): "Mr. Byrom, in early Life, distinguished himself by some very ingenious Essays in the *Spectator*, signed *John Shadow*, and by a fine Pastoral *Phœbe and Colin*, which will always do honour to his name."

I refrain from offering any remarks of my own concerning Byrom's speculations on a subject which it was reserved for days later than his to wear threadbare, without thereby rendering it much more luminous. He was not a stranger to the impression created on the mind by dreams of an unusual character. See *Remains*, i. 98 (*Diary*, March, 1725): "Rose at eleven; dreamt this last night, that is, about six this morning, that my wife was dead, which threw me into some reflections on the miseries and shortness of human life." More interesting, to my mind, is his note, *Remains*, ii. 163 (*Diary*, May 19th): "Rose late, had a short deep thought in the night, of my wife and children, and salvation, had read last night before I went to bed in Mr. Law's book about *all is magnetism*."

The following papers were much admired, although I doubt Johnson's having made the observation attributed to him in the following footnote in an American edition of the *Spectator*, printed in 1861, and seen by the late Mr. J. E. Bailey in 1886 in a Manchester bookshop: "In Dr.

Johnson's opinion, the best of the *Spectator*" [sic] "might still have been better, had Mr. Byrom's contributions to it been more numerous, and not inferior to the few specimens he has given of his abilities." According to Boswell (*Life of Johnson*, ed. G. Birkbeck Hill, iii. 33) Johnson pronounced it "wonderful that there is such a proportion of bad papers in the half of the *Spectator* which was not written by Addison; for," he added, "there was all the world to write that half, yet not a half of that half is good." Nor did he except Byrom's papers from this censure.]

I.

— *Quæ in vita usurpant homines, cogitant, curant, vident, quæque agunt vigilantes, agitantque, ea cuique in somno accidunt.*

CIC. *de Divinatione*, lib. i., c. 45.

The things which employ men's waking thoughts and actions recur to their imaginations in sleep.

BY the last post I received the following letter, which is built upon a thought that is new, and very well carried on; for which reasons I shall give it to the public without alteration, addition, or amendment.

"SIR,

"It was a good piece of advice which Pythagoras gave to his scholars—that every night before they slept they should

Motto. In the passage in Cicero from which this motto is taken, the last words actually run: "*ea si cui in somno accidunt, minus mirum est.*" The speaker of the words, in Accius' tragedy of *Brutus*, is contrasting with the facility of thus interpreting ordinary dreams, the difficulty of interpreting an extraordinary dream like that of Tarquinius Superbus, narrated by the King in the play.—The argument of Cicero is, that some dreams are false, but that their falsity does not disprove the truth

of others; so that his meaning is not quite fairly represented either by Byrom's quotation, or by Dryden's statement (*Life of Plutarch*, in *Works*, Scott's ed., revised by Saintsbury, 1892, xvii. 45) that "Tully has endeavoured to show the vanity of dreams in his 'Treatise of Divinations.'"

It was a good piece of advice which Pythagoras gave to his scholars. See Porphyry. *Vita Pythag.*, § 40, where Pythagoras recommends, as suitable times for the perfor-

examine what they had been doing that day, and so discover what actions were worthy of pursuit to-morrow, and what little vices were to be prevented from slipping unawares into a habit. If I might second the philosopher's advice, it should be mine, that in a morning, before my scholar rose, he should consider what he had been about that night, and with the same strictness as if the condition he has believed himself to be in was real. Such a scrutiny into the actions of his fancy must be of considerable advantage ; for this reason, because the circumstances which a man imagines himself in during sleep are generally such as entirely favour his inclinations, good or bad, and give him imaginary opportunities of pursuing them to the utmost ; so that his temper will lie fairly open to his view, while he considers how it is moved when free from those constraints which the accidents of pure life put it under. Dreams are certainly the result of our waking thoughts, and our daily hopes and fears are what give the mind such nimble relishes of pleasure, and such severe touches of pain, in its midnight rambles. A man that murders his enemy, or deserts his friend in a dream, had need to guard his temper against revenge and ingratitude, and take heed that he be not tempted to do a vile thing in the pursuit of false or the neglect of true honour. For my part, I seldom receive a benefit, but in a night or two's time I make most noble returns for it ; which, though my benefactor is not a whit the better for, yet it pleases me to think that it was from a principle of gratitude

mance of the exercise in question, that of going to bed and that of getting up again :

“*μηδ' ὑπνον μαλακῶσιν ἐπ' ὅμμασι προσδέξασθαι,*
πρὸν τῶν ἡμεριῶν ἔργων πρὸς ἔκαστον ἐπελθεῖν,
πὴ παρέβην; τι δ' ἔρεξα; τι μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέσθη;”

and

“*πρῶτα μὲν ἐξ ὑπνοι μελίφρονος ἔξυπναν αστὰς*
εὖ μάλ' ἐπιπνεύειν δο' ἐν ἥματι ἔργα τελέσσγ.”

See also (though of a rather different purport) the reference in Cic. *de Senect.* c. ii. :

“*multum etiam Græcis literis utor; Pythagoreorumque more exercenda memoria gratiā, quid quoque die dixerim, audierim, egerim, commemoro vesperi.*”

in me that my mind was susceptible of such generous transport, while I thought myself repaying the kindness of my friend : and I have often been ready to beg pardon, instead of returning an injury, after considering that when the offender was in my power I had carried my resentments much too far.

"I think it has been observed in the course of your papers, how much one's happiness or misery may depend upon the imagination : of which truth those strange workings of fancy in sleep are no inconsiderable instances ; so that not only the advantage a man has of making discoveries of himself, but a regard to his own ease or disquiet, may induce him to accept of my advice. Such as are willing to comply with it, I shall put into a way of doing it with pleasure, by observing only one maxim which I shall give them, viz. 'To go to bed with a mind entirely free from passion, and a body clear of the least intemperance.'

"They, indeed, who can sink into sleep with their thoughts less calm or innocent than they should be, do but plunge themselves into scenes of guilt and misery ; or they who are willing to purchase any midnight disquietudes for the satisfaction of a full meal, or a skin full of wine ; these I have nothing to say to, as not knowing how to invite them to reflections full of shame and horror : but those that will observe this rule, I promise them they shall awake into health and cheerfulness, and be capable of recounting with delight those glorious moments, wherein the mind has been indulging itself in such luxury of thought, such noble hurry of imagination. Suppose a man's going supperless to bed should introduce him to the table of some great prince or other, where he shall be entertained with the noblest marks of honour and plenty, and do so much business after, that he shall rise with as good a stomach to his breakfast as if he had fasted all night long ; or suppose he should see his dearest friends remain all night in great distresses, which he could instantly have disengaged them from, could he have been content to have gone to

bed without the other bottle : believe me, these effects of fancy are no contemptible consequences of commanding or indulging one's appetite.

"I forbear recommending my advice upon many other accounts till I hear how you and your readers relish what I have already said ; among whom, if there be any that may pretend it is useless to them, because they never dream at all, there may be others perhaps who do little else all day long. Were every one as sensible as I am of what happens to him in his sleep, it would be no dispute whether we pass so considerable a portion of our time in the condition of stocks and stones, or whether the soul were not perpetually at work upon the principle of thought. However, it is an honest endeavour of mine to persuade my countrymen to reap some advantage from so many unregarded hours, and as such you will encourage it.

"I shall conclude with giving you a sketch or two of my way of proceeding.

"If I have any business of consequence to do to-morrow, I am scarce dropt asleep to-night but I am in the midst of it ; and when awake, I consider the whole procession of the affair, and get the advantage of the next day's experience before the sun has risen upon it.

"There is scarce a great post but what I have some time or other been in ; but my behaviour while I was master of a college pleases me so well, that whenever there is a province of that nature vacant I intend to step in as soon as I can.

"I have done many things that would not pass examination, when I have had the art of flying or being invisible ; for which reason I am glad I am not possessed of those extraordinary qualities.

"Lastly, Mr. Spectator, I have been a great correspondent of yours, and have read many of my letters in your paper which I never wrote you. If you have a mind I should really be so, I have got a parcel of visions and other miscellanies in my

noctuary, which I shall send to enrich your paper with on proper occasions.

"I am, &c.,

"Oxford, Aug. 20."

"JOHN SHALLOW."

II.

[According to a note to the *Spectator*, ed. 1816, viii. 111, "this vision of hearts, the *Dissection of a Beau's Head*, No. 275 (cf. *ante*, p. 55), and of the *Coquette's Heart*, No. 281, probably suggested to George Alexander Stevens the first idea of his celebrated lecture on heads" (reprinted with additions by Pilon, 1821).]

—*Intus, et in cute novi.*

PERS. Sat. iii., 30.

I know thee to thy bottom ; from within
Thy shallow centre, to the utmost skin.

DRYDEN.

THOUGH the author of the following vision is unknown to me, I am apt to think it may be the work of that ingenious gentleman, who promised me, in the last paper, some extracts out of his noctuary.

"SIR,

"I was the other day reading the life of Mahomet. Among many other extravagancies, I find it recorded of that impostor,

In my noctuary. As the late Mr. J. E. Bailey pointed out to me, this word, humorously formed in analogy to "diary," is cited in Webster's *Dictionary* from our text, but attributed to Addison.

I find it recorded of the impostor. See Washington Irving's *Life of Mahomet* (edition of 1881), i. 40-1 : "At the age of three years, while playing in the fields with his foster-brother Masroud, two

that in the fourth year of his age the angel Gabriel caught him up while he was among his play-fellows ; and, carrying him aside, cut open his breast, plucked out his heart, and wrung out of it that black drop of blood, in which, says the Turkish divines, is contained the *Fomes Peccati*, so that he was free from sin ever after. I immediately said to myself, though this story be a fiction, a very good moral may be drawn from it, would every man but apply it to himself, and endeavour to squeeze out of his heart whatsoever sins or ill qualities he finds in it.

"While my mind was wholly taken up with this contemplation, I insensibly fell into a most pleasing slumber, when methought two porters entered my chamber carrying a large chest between them. After having set it down in the middle of the room they departed. I immediately endeavoured to open what was sent me, when a shape, like that in which we paint our angels, appeared before me, and forbade me. 'Enclosed,' said he, 'are the hearts of several of your friends and acquaintance ; but, before you can be qualified to see and animadvert on the failings of others, you must be pure yourself ;' whereupon he drew out his incision-knife, cut me open, took out my heart and began to squeeze it. I was in a great confusion to see how many things, which I had always cherished as virtues, issued out of my heart on this occasion. In short, after it had been thoroughly squeezed,

angels in shining apparel appeared before them. They laid Mahomet gently upon the ground, and Gabriel, one of the angels, opened his breast, but without inflicting any pain. Then, taking forth his heart, he cleansed it from all impurity, wringing from it those black and bitter drops of original sin, inherited from our forefather Adam, and which lurk in the hearts of the best of his descendants, inciting them to crime. When he had thoroughly purified it, he filled it with faith and knowledge and prophetic light, and replaced it in the bosom of the child

. . . At this supernatural visit, it is added, was impressed between the shoulders of the child the seal of prophecy, which continued through life the symbol and credential of his divine mission ; though unbelievers saw in it nothing but a large mole, the size of a pigeon's egg." Cf. Rehatsék's Translation of Mirkhond's *Rauzat-us-safa (Life of Muhammad)*, Part ii. vol. i. pp. 112 seqq., edited by F. T. Arbuthnot for the *Oriental Translation Fund, New Series*, i. (1893).

Fomes. That which sets fire to, or incites.

it looked like an empty bladder ; when the phantom, breathing a fresh particle of divine air into it, restored it safe to its former repository ; and, having sewed me up, we began to examine the chest.

"The hearts were all inclosed in transparent phials, and preserved in liquor which looked like spirits^{of} wine. The first which I cast my eye upon I was afraid would have broke the glass which contained it. It shot up and down, with incredible swiftness, through the liquor in which it swam, and very frequently bounced against the side of the phial. The *fomes*, or spot in the middle of it, was not large, but of a red fiery colour, and seemed to be the cause of these violent agitations. 'That,' says my instructor, 'is the heart of Tom Dreadnought, who behaved himself well in the late wars, but has for these ten years last past been aiming at some post of honour to no purpose. He is lately retired into the country, where, quite choked up with spleen and choler, he rails at better men than himself, and will be for ever uneasy, because it is impossible he should think his merits sufficiently rewarded.' The next heart that I examined was remarkable for its smallness ; it lay still at the bottom of the phial, and I could hardly perceive that it beat at all. The *fomes* was quite black, and had almost diffused itself over the whole heart. 'This,' says my interpreter, 'is the heart of Dick Gloomy, who never thirsted after any thing but money. Notwithstanding all his endeavours, he is still poor. This has flung him into a most deplorable state of melancholy and despair. He is a composition of envy and idleness ; hates mankind, but gives them their revenge by being more uneasy to himself than to any one else.'

"The phial I looked upon next contained a large fair heart which beat very strongly. The *fomes* or spot in it was exceeding small ; but I could not help observing, that which way soever I turned the phial it always appeared uppermost, and in the strongest point of light. 'The heart you are examining,' says my companion, 'belongs to Will Worthy. He has, indeed,

a most noble soul, and is possessed of a thousand good qualities.
The speck which you discover is vanity.'

"'Here,' says the angel, 'is the heart of Freelo^ve, your intimate friend.'—'Freelo^ve and I,' said I, 'are at present very cold to one another, and I do not care for looking on the heart of a man which I fear is overcast with rancour.' My teacher commanded me to look upon it: I did so, and, to my unspeakable surprise, found that a small swelling spot, which I at first took to be ill-will towards me, was only passion; and that upon my nearer inspection it disappeared: upon which the phantom told me Freelo^ve was one of the best-natured men alive.

"'This,' says my teacher, 'is a female heart of your acquaintance.' I found the *fomes* in it of the largest size, and of an hundred different colours, which were still varying every moment. Upon my asking to whom it belonged, I was informed that it was the heart of Coquetilla.

"I set it down, and drew out another, in which I took the *fomes* at first sight to be very small, but was amazed to find that, as I looked stedfastly upon it, it grew still larger. It was the heart of Melissa, a noted prude who lives the next door to me.

"'I shew you this,' said the phantom, 'because it is indeed a rarity, and you have the happiness to know the person to whom it belongs.' He then put into my hands a large crystal glass, that inclosed an heart, in which, though I examined it with the utmost nicety, I could not perceive any blemish. I made no scruple to affirm that it must be the heart of Seraphina; and was glad, but not surprised, to find that it was so. 'She is indeed,' continued my guide, 'the ornament, as well as the envy of her sex.' At these last words he pointed to the hearts of several of her female acquaintance which lay in different phials, and had very large spots in them, all of a deep blue. 'You are not to wonder,' says he, 'that you see no spot in an heart, whose innocence has been proof against all the corruptions of a depraved age. If it has any blemish, it is too small to be discovered by human eyes.'

"I laid it down and took up the hearts of other females, in all of which the *fomes* ran in several veins, which were twisted together, and made a very perplexed figure. I asked the meaning of it, and was told it represented deceit.

"I should have been glad to have examined the hearts of several of my acquaintance, whom I knew to be particularly addicted to drinking, gaming, intriguing, &c., but my interpreter told me I must let that alone till another opportunity, and flung down the cover of the chest with so much violence as immediately awoke me."

III.

*Quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
Est iter in sylvis—*

VIRG. *Aen.*, vi., vv. 270-1.

Thus wander travellers in woods by night,
By the moon's doubtful and malignant light.

DRYDEN.

MY dreaming correspondent, Mr. Shadow, has sent me a second letter, with several curious observations on dreams in general, and the method to render sleep improving: an extract of his letter will not, I presume, be disagreeable to my readers.

"SINCE we have so little time to spare, that none of it may be lost, I see no reason why we should neglect to examine those imaginary scenes we are presented with in sleep, only because they have a less reality in them than our waking meditations. A traveller would bring his judgment in question, who should despise the directions of his map for want of real roads in it, because here stands a dot instead of a town, or a cipher instead

of a city ; and it must be a long day's journey to travel through two or three inches. Fancy in dreams gives us much such another landscape of life as that does of countries ; and, though its appearances may seem strangely jumbled together, we may often observe such traces and footsteps of noble thoughts, as, if carefully pursued, might lead us into a proper path of action. There is so much rapture and ecstasy in our fancied bliss, and something so dismal and shocking in our fancied misery, that, though the inactivity of the body has given occasion for calling sleep the image of death, the briskness of the fancy affords us a strong intimation of something within us that can never die.

“ I have wondered that Alexander the Great, who came into the world sufficiently dreamed of by his parents, and had himself a tolerable knack at dreaming, should often say that sleep was one thing which made him sensible he was mortal. I, who have not such fields of action in the day-time to divert my attention from this matter, plainly perceive that in those operations of the mind, while the body is at rest, there is a certain vastness of conception very suitable to the capacity, and demonstrative of the force of that divine part in our composition which will last for ever. Neither do I much doubt but, had we a true account of the wonders the hero last mentioned performed in his sleep, his conquering this little globe would hardly be worth mentioning. I may affirm, without vanity, that, when I compare several actions in Quintus Curtius, with some others in my own noctuary, I appear the greater hero of the two.”

I shall close this subject with observing, that while we are awake we are at liberty to fix our thoughts on what we please,

Alexander the Great, who came into the world sufficiently dreamed of by his parents, and had himself a tolerable knack at dreaming, &c. See, as to the dreams of Philip and of Olympias, Plutarch's *'Αλέξανδρος*, c. 2; as to his own, *ib.*, c. 24. Alexander's dream of the serpent, and Cicero's

jest concerning the account of it, *de Divinatione*, ii. 68, are mentioned by Middleton in his *Letter to Waterland* (see *Works*, 1755, iii. 21).—For the saying attributed to Alexander in the text I have sought in vain in the delightful pages of Plutarch and Arrian, and in Quintus Curtius Rufus.

but in sleep we have not the command of them. The ideas which strike the fancy arise in us without our choice, either from the occurrences of the day past, the temper we lie down in, or it may be the direction of some superior being.

It is certain the imagination may be so differently affected in sleep, that our actions of the day might be either rewarded or punished with a little age of happiness or misery. St. Austin was of opinion that, if in Paradise there was the same vicissitude of sleeping and waking as in the present world, the dreams of its inhabitants would be very happy.

And so far at present are our dreams in our power, that they are generally conformable to our waking thoughts ; so that it is not impossible to convey ourselves to a concert of music, the conversation of distant friends, or any other entertainment which has been before lodged in the mind.

My readers, by applying these hints, will find the necessity of making a good day of it, if they heartily wish themselves a good night.

I have often considered Marcia's prayer, and Lucius' account of Cato, in this light.

"Marc. O ye immortal powers, that guard the just,
Watch round his couch, and soften his repose,
Banish his sorrows, and becalm his soul
With easy dreams ; remember all his virtues,
And shew mankind that goodness is your care.

St. Austin was of opinion that, if in Paradise there was the same vicissitude of sleeping and waking as in the present world, its inhabitants would be very happy. This rather shallow observation is not, so far as I am aware, to be found among the impressive passages in Book xii. and in other parts of the *De Civitate Dei* which refer to the life of Paradise. Indeed, it

would have furnished a strange patristic commentary upon *Revelations*, xxi. 25 : “ And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day ; for there shall be no night there.” Cf. *ib.*, v. 23.

Marcia's prayer, and Lucius' account of Cato. See Addison's *Cato*, Act v. Sc. iii., and *ib.*, Act v. Sc. iv.

"Luc. Sweet are the slumbers of the virtuous man !
 O Marcia, I have seen thy godlike father ;
 Some power invisible supports his soul,
 And bears it up in all its wonted greatness.
 A kind refreshing sleep is fallen upon him :
 I saw him stretch'd at ease, his fancy lost
 In pleasing dreams ; as I drew near his couch
 He smil'd and cried, Cæsar, thou canst not hurt me."

Mr. Shadow acquaints me in a postscript, that he has no manner of title to the vision which succeeded his first letter ; but adds, that, as the gentleman who wrote it dreams very sensibly, he shall be glad to meet him some night or other under the great elm-tree, by which Virgil has given us a fine metaphorical image of sleep, in order to turn over a few of the leaves together, and oblige the public with an account of the dreams that lie under them.

The great elm-tree, by which Virgil has given us a fine metaphorical image of sleep.

See Verg. *Æn.* vi. 282-4 :

"In medio ramos annosaque brachia pandit

*Ulmus opaca, ingens, quam sedem Somnia vulgo
 Vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus
 hærent."*

END OF VOL. I.

ADDENDUM.

In the Introductory Note to *The Centaur Fabulous*, p. 232, reference might have been made to Cic. *de Natura Deorum*, ii. 2 : “*Quis enim hippocentaurum fuisse, ant chimæram putat?*”—and to the title *The Centaur not Fabulous* of Young’s *Letters to a Friend on the Life in Vogue* (on Infidelity, Pleasure, &c.), 1755.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 419, line 7, B, from bottom, for “Anapest” read “Anapæst.”

Page 466, line 6, for “IV.” read “VI.”

LAURENTIUS

Contra Iudeos et gentiles. Et contra Iudeos et gentiles.

ACONITUM

Contra Iudeos et gentiles. Contra Iudeos et gentiles. Contra Iudeos et gentiles. Contra Iudeos et gentiles.



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